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THREE MONTHS

IN

GREAT BRITAIN.

BY

JAMES MOTT.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. Miller M'Kim, No. 31 North Fifth street.

1841.

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MERRIHEW AND THOMPSON, PRINTERS,
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Hannah M. Darlington

LETTER, &c.

DEAR FRIEND,—

A wish having been expressed by thyself and several other persons, to have some account of a visit my wife and self made to England in the summer of 1840, I shall attempt to give a brief statement of some of the incidents of our voyage and travel; but not possessing the power of description, I do not suppose that it will be very instructive, or contain much that will be new or interesting.

We sailed from New York on the 7th of Fifth month, in the packet ship Roscoe, Captain Huttleston, in company with several others, who, with ourselves, purposed being at the Anti-Slavery Convention to be held in London in the Sixth month. There were thirty-two cabin passengers, some of them residents of the island of Jamaica, with whom the subject of slavery, and the results of emancipation in the West Indies, were discussed. And, although they were opposed to the act of emancipation, yet from their own admissions it was evident that all classes were benefited by the change, and would be still more so, as the former claimant of property in his fellow-man was willing to recognise in those he had held in slavery, the full enjoyment of their freedom.

Our voyage was a rough one, of twenty days; most of the passengers were more or less sea sick, some of them very much so. I escaped entirely, and enjoyed the novelty of the scene, viewing the wide expanse of the ocean, and watching the rolling and pitching of our fine ship as she ascended and descended the mountain waves. On the third day out we encountered a gale from the east, which obliged the ship to lay to about sixteen hours. The wind blew with violence and the surface of the ocean was greatly agitated. I remained on deck most of the day; occasionally going to the cabin to see how the sick were doing. Any description will give but a faint idea of the reality of a storm at sea. To enjoy its grandeur it must be seen; and I am almost ready to wish that every person who crosses the Atlantic may have an opportunity of witnessing the sublimity of the foaming ocean lashed by the fury of the wind. Our skilful captain, by his uniform attention to the wants and feelings of those on board, gained their esteem; and our estimable fellow passenger, Isaac Winslow, extended every kindness to the sick of our company. The sea was so rough, and many so sick, that only one religious meeting was held during the voyage, which was attended by all the cabin passengers.

We arrived at Liverpool on the evening of the 26th inst., and landed next morning on the quay of Prince's dock, which is the largest of those artificial harbors; it is capable of containing one hundred ships. The tide rises about sixteen feet, which would make it

difficult to load and unload as they do at our wharves. The town resembles New York in the irregularity of its streets. The buildings are from three to seven stories high, and have a dark, dingy appearance, the color of the bricks being dirty yellow. Liverpool is the great market from which the large manufacturers are supplied with the slave-grown cotton of the United States. Thus while the people of Great Britain, at a cost of twenty millions sterling, have abolished slavery in their colonies, they purchase annually from twelve to fifteen millions of the slave-stained cotton of this country. With one hand they pay for the liberation of their own slaves, with the other give direct encouragement and support to slavery in our land. A few seem sensible of their inconsistency herein, and are endeavoring to arouse the nation to seek a supply from some other source. This supply, it is asserted, can readily be procured from the British East India possessions, if the Company having the government of that extended country would encourage its cultivation.

We spent one day in Liverpool; delivered letters of introduction; and accepted an invitation to William Rathbone's, where we passed an evening in most agreeable conversation with his intelligent family. Edward Wilson, whom we had formerly known in this country, kindly invited us to his house, but our stay was too short to admit of our going there. On the 28th, we left for London, passing through Chester, Manchester, Birmingham, Warwick, Stratford,

Woodstock, Oxford, and Windsor, stopping to visit such places as were of interest or curiosity.

At Manchester, on First day morning, we attended Friends' meeting, which is said to be one of the largest in the kingdom; about four hundred and fifty persons were present; only one minister, a woman, belonging to the meeting, and she was absent on a religious visit in Ireland.

In the afternoon we concluded to visit the Evangelical Friends; found several of their number teaching a "Sabbath School," of nearly two hundred children, in the basement of the house, which is built after the manner of Friends, though more ornamented; maple benches with green cushions and footstools; and aisles carpeted with coarse India matting, as was the case in most of the meeting houses we saw. The children were instructed in the importance of baptism, the supper, and the orthodox faith; a hymn was sung by the children at the close of the school, and a prayer offered by John H. Cockbain. The meeting not being held till evening, J. H. C. gave us an invitation to tea, which we accepted, after informing him who we were, and had much conversation on our respective views on the subject of religion. The openness and charitable feeling evinced impressed us favorably.

At the meeting, Isaac Crewdson, with two others, occupied the gallery, or pulpit, which would accommodate six persons. Women are excluded from its occupancy, and from the ministry. About one hundred and fifty persons were present; after a short si-

lence, a prayer was offered; there was then another silence, followed by the reading of a hymn; they probably have not yet learned the art of singing; a third silence, and a chapter in the Bible was read, and a discourse upon it by I. Crewdson; then another prayer, and the congregation was dismissed by a benediction. I. C. kindly invited us to go home and sup with him; we reluctantly declined on account of the distance and lateness of the hour. They took us into their library, and gave us some books explanatory of their tenets, and afterwards sent us more. We respected their zeal and sincerity, while we mourned their departure from the simplicity of the faith of the Society of Friends. They number about two hundred members, nearly half of whom withdrew from the meeting of Friends in Manchester, and probably most, or all were in the practice of assembling with them on First days.

They contribute to the support of a domestic mission, or ministry for the poor. In reference to this subject, J. H. Cockbain, in a note, says,

"When we were conversing on the subject of paying ministers, I mentioned that we had in Manchester between thirty and forty paid agents, as home missionaries. The agents are men of known piety, and well qualified by their knowledge of Scripture. To such ministers I not only believe it right that a maintenance should be afforded, but I believe it to be the bounden duty of every believer in Jesus Christ to contribute either by his personal efforts, or by the appropriation of part of his income, to the support of those who are willing to employ their time and talents in so doing—to endeavor to

make known to their fellow-men the glad tidings of free salvation to every penitent believer. The average salary is sixty pounds per annum, and their whole time is occupied. The work has been greatly owned, by the divine blessing, in numerous instances. I should like to know the points on which you think we do not see alike; truth never did, and never will suffer from calm investigation, and we may learn something from each other."

In one of the pamphlets handed us by Isaac Crewdson, entitled "A brief account of Evangelical Friends," the causes which led to their separation are thus stated:—

"The first cause we believe to have been the more frequent and attentive reading of the Holy Scriptures, by which many were established in the conviction that they are of supreme authority in all matters of doctrine."

"The division of the Society of Friends in America, and the fearful errors which resulted from the carrying out of the principle that the Scriptures are not the first rule of faith and practice, showed still more plainly the importance of a diligent study of the Bible, both to obtain a knowledge of the truth, and to furnish the young with those principles which might guard them against the evils of the world, and the snares of Satan."

"With these views a class was formed by Wm. Boulton, an elder in the Society of Friends, at Manchester, for the social reading and study of the Scriptures, in the year 1833; and a second class, by other members, in 1834."

"Soon after the establishment of the first class, the yearly meeting of Friends in London, held in 1834, was informed, by answers to the queries, that disunity existed in the meeting of the ministers and elders, of which Wm. Boulton was a member."

"Early in the year 1835, Isaac Crewdson, a minister in the same meeting, published the 'Beacon to the Society of Friends,' in order to show the deadly nature of the errors of Elias Hicks.

the leader of the heresy amongst the Quakers in America,* and to warn the Society in this country against those false doctrines."

"On the appearance of this book, the disunity was so much increased, that the yearly meeting, in 1835, appointed a committee to visit the county of Lancaster, who advised the author to prevent its further circulation." "Their general proceedings proved that their inquiry was—Who had the views of the early Friends? rather than—Who held the doctrines of the Lord and his apostles?"

"When the author of the Beacon did not suppress the work, the committee complained of his want of condescension, and advised him to suspend his labors as a minister of the gospel, and dealt with him on his non-submission to their advice."

In consequence of the proceedings of the yearly meeting's committee, and the monthly meeting, forty-nine persons sent their resignations of membership to the monthly meetings, held in the Eleventh and Twelfth months, 1836.

"Many of those who resigned their membership expressed disunity with the Society of Friends, on the doctrine of universal, inward, saving light;—with the defective views of the Society on the doctrine of justification by faith;—and on their not admitting the paramount authority of the Holy Scriptures."

These persons, with some others associated in religious communion, erected a meeting house which they call a chapel. In the deed conveying the property to trustees, their doctrines are thus set forth:

"That the Scriptures were given by divine inspiration, and

* In a proper sense it would have been more correct to have said, "The defender of the faith preached by George Fox and his cotemporaries, and abundantly set forth in the Scriptures."

are the revelation of the will of God to man, in all things necessary to his eternal happiness; that they are the rule of faith and practice; and nothing which is not found therein is to be regarded as an article of faith, or as requisite to salvation.

"That God is revealed through the Holy Scriptures in the character of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

"That in the Holy Scriptures we are taught that man fell by sin from the state of holiness in which he was created; that his posterity are born in the same fallen condition; and thus, being by nature prone to evil, and at enmity against God, all the world is guilty before him.

"That all mankind are to be invited to accept the salvation which is freely offered in the Gospel of Christ.

"That the Son of God, by whom the worlds were created, and by whom all things consist, was made flesh, and died upon the cross,—that through his perfect righteousness, and atoning sacrifice, all who repent and believe in Him are delivered from condemnation; and being justified by faith, are made heirs of eternal life, and receive the gift of the Holy Ghost as the earnest of their inheritance.

"That being thus made alive unto God by a new creation in Christ Jesus unto good works, the believer delights in the holy law of God, takes the precepts of the gospel as his rule of duty, and seeks to grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

The ordinances of baptism and the supper are observed by the Evangelical Friends; Isaac Crewdson and Wm. Boulton hold the offices of "Bishops, Elders, or Pastors," in conformity with what they regard as the appointment of the Great Head of the Church. Four other persons are appointed deacons. As these are all the officers they find in the New Testament, as recognized in the church of that day, they have no others.

Had the above mentioned rites, and the titles to their officers been omitted, and the inward light

placed on an equality with the authority of the Scriptures, I see nothing in their confession of faith as contained in their deed, that might not and would not be subscribed to by many in England who call themselves Friends. Both Societies disclaim religious fellowship with Friends of our connexion, and repudiate the doctrine that simple and unreserved obedience to the guidance of the inward light will lead to happiness in this life, and give assurance of an inheritance in that which is to come.

Wm. Nield, to whom we had a letter of introduction, furnished us with a guide, who conducted us through several of the large manufactories in Manchester. The general appearance of the operatives was not so bad as we had expected; the situation of very many of this class, however, is pitiable; not having full employment, two scanty meals per day is frequently all they are able to procure, and their children often go hungry to bed. The amount of wages they can earn when working full time is, for men, nine to twelve shillings sterling per week; women six to eight; children two and six pence to five shillings, varying according to their dexterity or kind of employment. Children under thirteen years of age are prohibited by law from working full time. Some attention is paid to education, but much more ought to be given to this subject.

At Oxford we visited several of the colleges. There are twenty-two of these establishments, with their presidents and professors; to each a chapel is attached, having much heavy carved work, and win-

L. of C.

dows with painted glass; some representing their kings in royal robes or war armor; others, the apostles and reformers, and eminent men of the church in times past. In one, the cardinal virtues were beautifully represented—Temperance pouring water in a glass—Fortitude leaning on a lion—Faith resting on a cross—Charity raising three kneeling children—Hope resting on an anchor—Justice holding her scales blindfold—Prudence with serpents. A stone cross in one of the streets of Oxford, marks the spot where Ridley and Latimer were burnt at the stake.

Windsor castle is one of the many monuments of the extravagance and folly of the English nobility and aristocracy which oppresses the laborer, by taking from him, in the shape of impost and taxes, so much of his earnings as to leave but a scanty subsistence for himself. We met with scarcely any who appeared to see the effect of the large palaces and parks on the population. They seem to think it a kind of charity in the legal owners, to employ hundreds of persons in beautifying these parks, pleasure grounds, palaces, and castles, forgetting that their labor produces nothing that ministers to the real wants and comforts of life, and that the wages thus paid is first taken from the producing laborer without compensation, enabling the few to live in idleness, luxury, and extravagance, at the expense of the many.

A woman conducted us through the magnificent state apartments of the castle, which are kept more for the gratification of pride, and for show, than for

use. As we passed from one room to another, our conductor told us the name of each, and pointed out the paintings and objects of curiosity; but I could not look upon them with much interest. A chapel is attached to the Castle, in which service is performed twice each day. As we went along, the chaplain, and a few attendants, with much pomp and ceremony, were assembling for morning service; we stopped at the door a short time, but could not understand the indistinct speaker. The responses and chantings of the boys, dressed in white robes, bordered on the ridiculous. Banners were hanging round the chapel, showing the unity of church and state. In an outer part of the building, was a beautiful cenotaph of the Princess Charlotte, representing her in the position in which she died, with a sheet over her; rising from the bed an angelic form, said to be a likeness of herself; attending angels bearing her babe; friends weeping, kneeling beside the bed.

On Sixth-day, Sixth month 5th, we reached London. The coach stopped at the Saracen's Head, up a court leading out of a narrow street; the situation was not such as to give us a very favourable impression of the great metropolis. But when we were located at Mark Moore's, No. 6, Queen street place, Cheapside, we could then see things in their reality. During our stay we visited many places of interest and curiosity, and contrasted the residences of the lords and nobles, their splendid equipage and retinue, with the wretched abodes of thousands who were contriving ways to obtain a few pennies wherewith

to lengthen out a miserable existence. The difference of condition is very striking to any observant American, and should be a warning to us to adhere to such institutions in our country, as will secure and perpetuate a truly democratic form of government, in which the greatest good to the greatest number is the object, instead of the good of the few at the expense of the many. As the prominent objects of curiosity are familiar, by description, to most, I shall not attempt to give an account of them; but confine myself to circumstances more connected with ourselves and the object of our visit.

Persons were beginning to assemble for the purpose of attending the approaching Anti-Slavery Convention. In order that they might have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with one another, especially those from foreign countries, the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society gave general invitations to tea at their rooms. Three assemblages of this kind were held after we arrived in London, previous to the meeting of the Convention. It had not been usual for women to be invited, but as several had crossed the Atlantic, to manifest their interest in the cause of the slave, and to give their aid to such measures as would promote his liberation, it was concluded by the committee to deviate from their custom on this occasion. On the first evening, only one female was present beside those from this country; on the second, a number more attended; and on the third, nearly as many as of the other sex.

Soon after getting there, on the second evening, I was told that some persons wished to see me in a

back room; following my informant, I found two Friends in waiting, neither of whom I had seen before. They shook hands, and one said, I am Josiah Forster, and this is Jacob Post; to which I replied, that having a letter for Jacob Post, I was glad of this opportunity to deliver it; and I was also pleased to meet with Josiah Forster, having read, some years ago, with interest, a correspondence between him and my grandfather. After some conversation which the mention of this circumstance led into, J. Forster remarked, they had understood that on the previous evening, myself or wife had made use of some expressions, as if we were members of the Society of Friends, and they had received information from the United States that we were not. To which I answered, that I did not know what information they had received, but that we were members of the Society of Friends, and had a certificate of the fact from the monthly meeting to which we belonged, at the same time handed it to them read, which they did, with the remark that there were a good many names to it, and with some objection to its address; but they could not however recognize us as Friends. This I told them we were fully aware of, and we wished to pass for just what we were, and our position to be fairly understood, but their unwillingness to acknowledge us, did not alter the fact of our being members of the Society of Friends; and while we claimed so to be, we had no disposition to impose upon them, and no alarm need be felt on that account. J. Forster said he hoped we should have a pleasant visit,

and be treated with kindness, but we must not expect to receive much attention from Friends, particularly from such as had young people about them, fearing the dangerous tendency of our doctrines. To this I replied, that such must act according to their own pleasure in this respect, and they might be assured that we should not ask them to notice us; but that this fear did not manifest a very strong confidence in their doctrines, if they were afraid of having them unsettled by a transient visit. I also mentioned, I had long thought that those in England, who called themselves Friends, were very ignorant of the state of things in America, and of the causes of the separation, and from the little opportunity I had had for observation, as well as from the present interview, this opinion was much confirmed. Our conversation continued about half an hour, mostly between J. Forster and myself; J. Post took very little part in it, and afterwards treated us with much kindness and attention, inviting us to dine, &c. This first open exhibition of prejudice and bigotry made me feel somewhat sad for a time, but we soon saw so much of it that my sadness was turned to pity.

In the course of the same evening my wife was requested to give an account of the mob at Smyrna, that obliged Daniel Neall to walk two miles through the mud, and then put some tar and feathers on his coat. In narrating the circumstance, she mentioned they were travelling with a minute in the usual order of Friends, adding, "I suppose it is understood here when I speak of our Friends, I do not allude to those

in connexion with Friends in this country." As soon as she had finished a detail of the occurrence, J. Forster said, that although Lucretia Mott had kindly stated she was not in connexion with those acknowledged by them as Friends in America, yet he felt conscientiously bound to inform those present, that she was not a member of the Society of Friends, and could not be recognized by them as such. To this I rejoined, that we considered ourselves as belonging to that religious body in America, and I had a certificate in my pocket from the monthly meeting to which we were attached, which I would read if any one desired; and that it was probably known to those interested, that a division had taken place in the Society in the United States; but as our object in being there was not necessarily connected with any sectarian views, we had no wish to intrude the subject; still, we were prepared to meet it then or at any other time. Several disapproved of Josiah's remarks, and rebuked him for them, as being improper and out of place. Jonathan Backhouse hoped this subject would not be again introduced, but if any one wished to have conversation with the friends from a foreign country, they had better call upon them, or take a more private opportunity.

The subject of admitting women as delegates to the Convention was much talked of in social circles. The English committee, having conferred with some members of the executive committee in New York, and influenced by their representations, seemed alarmed at the idea of such an innovation on their

customs and usages. The circumstance, they alleged, would be mentioned in the newspapers, and the Convention might be the subject of ridicule. On such flimsy reasons and excuses, the right was assumed to exclude women as delegates, and only admit them as visiters; even this was a small advance in the path of freedom, they never before having been admitted to any business meetings. The women from Pennsylvania, in deference to the prejudices of many of the brethren, concluded not to press their claim, but to withhold their credentials, and submit to the control of those who usurped the power over them. The privation seemed to them trifling, in comparison with the oppression of those whose rights they were willing and desirous to aid in restoring.

Notwithstanding this conclusion, the subject of the admission of women was brought up on the first day of the Convention by Wendell Phillips, whose wife had been delegated by the Massachusetts Society. An animated and somewhat excited discussion ensued, which continued several hours, when it was decided in the negative by a pretty large majority. Thus one of the first acts of a Convention, assembled for the purpose of promoting the cause of liberty and freedom universally, was a vote, the spirit and object of which was a determination that the chains should not be broken, with which oppressive custom has so long bound the mind of woman.

The female delegation finding themselves thus excluded, requested they might have an opportunity to confer with their sisters in England, on the subject of

slavery, by having a meeting with them alone. A few manifested a reluctance to granting this reasonable request, but others appeared favorable. After it had been several times mentioned, in order that they might procure a place and fix a time, some of those who had professed to be in favor of such a meeting, said they were afraid other subjects might be introduced, though they had been told, and were again assured, that the wish to have the meeting was with no other view than to promote the emancipation of the slave, by encouraging one another in such measures as would be likely to hasten this desirable result. But their sectarian fears so overcame their anti-slavery feeling, that they were unwilling to trust the women of England to meet half a dozen from America, to confer together on the subject of slavery. The religious opinions of some of the latter was the avowed ground of objection; and I am not alone in believing that this had some influence in the decision of the Convention; but we were unable to see what our opinions on doctrines had to do, in preventing any who held them from pleading the cause of down-trodden and injured humanity.

On the day following the conclusion of the Convention to exclude women, Daniel O'Connell made some remarks in reference to the subject, which was the occasion of the following note to him, and his reply.

To Daniel O'Connell, M. P.

The rejected delegates from America to the "General Anti-Slavery Conference," are desirous to have the opinion of one

of the most distinguished advocates of universal liberty, as to the reasons urged by the majority for their rejection, viz: that the admission of women, being contrary to English usage, would subject them to ridicule, and that such recognition of their acknowledged principles would prejudice the cause of human freedom.

Permit me, then, on behalf of the delegation, to ask of Daniel O'Connell the favor of his sentiment, as incidentally expressed in the meeting on the morning of the 13th inst., and oblige his sincere friend,

LUCRETIA MOTT.

London, Sixth mo. 17, 1840.

16 *Pall Mall*, 20th June, 1840.

MADAM,—Taking the liberty of protesting against being supposed to adopt any of the complimentary phrases in your letter, as being applicable to me, I readily comply with your request to give my opinion as to the propriety of the admission of the female delegates into the Convention.

I should premise by avowing, that my first impression was strong against that admission; and I believe I declared that opinion in private conversation. But when I was called on, by you, to give my personal decision on the subject, I felt it my duty to investigate the grounds of the opinion I formed; and upon that investigation, I easily discovered that it was founded on no better grounds, than an apprehension of the ridicule it might excite, if the Convention were to do what is so unusual in England—to admit women to an equal share and right of discussion. I also, without difficulty, recognised that this was an unworthy, and indeed a cowardly motive, and I easily overcame its influence.

My mature consideration of the entire subject, convinces me of the right of the female delegates to take their seats in the Convention, and of the injustice of excluding them. I do not care to add, that I deem it also impolitic; because that exclusion being unjust, it ought not to have taken place, even if it could also be politic.

My reasons are—*First*—That as it has been the practice in America for females to act as delegates and office-bearers, as

well as in the common capacity of members of anti-slavery societies, the persons who called this Convention ought to have warned the American Anti-Slavery Societies to confine their choice to males; and, for want of this caution, many female delegates have made long journeys by land, and crossed the ocean, to enjoy a right which they had no reason to fear would be withheld from them at the end of their tedious voyage.

Secondly—The cause which is so intimately interwoven with every good feeling of humanity, and with the highest and most sacred principles of Christianity—the anti-slavery cause in America—is under the greatest, the deepest, the most heart-binding obligations to the females who have joined the anti-slavery societies in the United States. They have shown a passive, but permanent courage, which ought to put many of the male advocates to the blush. The American ladies have persevered in our holy cause, amidst difficulties and dangers, with the zeal of confessors, and the firmness of martyrs; and, therefore, emphatically, they should not be disparaged or discouraged by any slight or contumely offered to their rights. Neither are this slight and contumely much diminished by the fact, that it was not intended to offer any slight or to convey any contumely. Both results inevitably follow from the fact of rejection. This OUGHT NOT to be.

Thirdly—Even in England, with all our fastidiousness, women vote upon the great regulation of the Bank of England; in the nomination of its directors and governors, and in all other details equally with men; that is, they assist in the most awfully important business, the regulation of the currency of this mighty empire, influencing the fortunes of all commercial nations.

Fourthly—Our women, in like manner, vote at the India House—that is, in the regulation of the government of more than one hundred millions of human beings.

Fifthly—Mind has no sex; and in the peaceable struggle to abolish slavery, all over the world, it is the basis of the present Convention, to seek success by peaceable, moral and intellectual means alone, to the utter exclusion of physical force or armed violence. We are engaged in a strife, not of strength, but of argument. Our warfare is not military—it is strictly

Christian. We wield not the weapons of destruction or injury to our adversaries. We rely entirely on reason and persuasion common to both sexes, and on the emotions of benevolence and charity, which are more lovely and permanent amongst women, than amongst men.

In the church to which I belong, the female sex are devoted by as strict rules, and with as much if not more unceasing austerity, to the performance (and that to the exclusion of all worldly or temporal joys and pleasures) of all works of humanity, of education, of benevolence, and of charity, in all its holy and sacred branches, as the men.

The great work in which we are now engaged, embraces all these charitable categories; and the women have the same duties, and should therefore enjoy the same rights with the men, in the performance of their duties.

I have a consciousness that I have not done *my* duty in not sooner urging these considerations on the Convention. My excuse is, that I was unavoidably absent during the discussion on the subject.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, Madam,

Your obedient servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Mrs. Lucretia Mott.

Amelia Opie was in constant attendance at the Convention. On entering one of the meetings she accosted my wife, saying that though in one sense the women delegates were rejected, yet they were held in high estimation there, and had raised themselves in the view of many by thus coming.

Ann Knight, a devoted friend to the slave, and an advocate of human rights, was quite indignant that such a Convention should reject women, on the flimsy plea, that being contrary to English usage it would subject them to ridicule, and prejudice their cause. She was unremitting in her attentions to the Ameri-

can women, often visiting them at their lodgings, and doing much to make their visit pleasant.

That noble hearted young woman, Elizabeth Pease, daughter of Joseph Pease, of Darlington, manifested great kindness of feeling. She was one of the first to call upon us on our arrival in London, and the last to bid us farewell on the morning we sailed from Liverpool; having, in company with her father, come from Manchester for that purpose. Her cultivated mind and fine talents are devoted to subjects of reform, with an energy and perseverance rarely equalled.

The Convention will, I believe, be productive of much good, in arousing the powers of Europe to greater exertion to abolish the slave-trade and slavery; but it would have done far more good, had sectarian feelings and prejudices been excluded; and had all whose hearts prompted them to action on this subject, been admitted to an equal participation in its deliberations. Great credit, however, is due to English abolitionists, for their devotion, industry, and perseverance in doing what they could to break the chains of slavery, and for the liberality they have manifested, in raising large sums of money to carry on this work of justice and benevolence, and for the kindness and courtesy extended towards those from foreign lands who were drawn together on that occasion.

To attempt to give even a brief account of the proceedings of the Convention, would extend this sketch beyond proper limits. Much general infor-

mation on the subject of slavery was elicited; and its extent, the wrong and cruelty unavoidably growing out of, and connected with it, were set forth at large; and the proper measures necessary for the removal of this great evil, were discussed and adopted.

It was a matter of much gratification that the venerable Thomas Clarkson was able to preside at some of the meetings. His introduction to the Convention, on the day it assembled, created a deep interest and feeling, and will not be easily forgotten by those who witnessed it. Accompanied by his widowed daughter-in-law and her little son, a boy of nine years old, the only remaining representative of his grandfather, he entered the room, showing, by his faltering step and bowed form, that his once majestic frame and commanding person were yielding to the infirmities of age. He was received standing, and in silence; when he had taken the chair, all resumed their seats, and a solemn pause of some minutes ensued. Joseph Sturge then introduced him, and briefly, but impressively alluded to his many years of devotion to the cause of freedom, the opposition he had encountered, and how largely he had contributed to arouse the nation to the enormity of the evils of slavery, &c.

Thomas Clarkson, in his opening address, said:—

"I stand before you as a humble individual, whose life has been most intimately connected with the subject which you are met this day to consider. I was formerly, under Providence, the originator, and am now unhappily the only surviving member of the committee, which was first instituted in this

country, in the year 1787, for the abolition of the slave-trade. My dear friend and fellow-laborer, Mr. Wilberforce, who was one of them, is, as you know, dead; and here I may say of him, that there never was a man, either dead or living, to whom your cause was more indebted, than to him."

* * * * * * *

"My dear friends, I was invited, many months ago, to be at this meeting; but old age and infirmities, being lame and nearly blind, and besides being otherwise seriously affected at times, gave me no hope of attending. But I have been permitted to come among you, and I rejoice in it, if I were only allowed to say in this place, in reference to your future labors, Take courage, be not dismayed, go on, persevere to the last: you will always have pleasure from the thought of having done so. I can say with truth, that though my body is fast going to decay, my heart beats as warmly in this sacred cause, now in the eighty-first year of my age, as it did at the age of twenty-four, when I first took it up. And I can say further, with truth, that if I had another life given me to live, I would devote it to the same subject."

After alluding to the causes and evils of slavery, and some of the means necessary for its removal, he thus concludes:

"I have only now to say, may the Supreme Ruler of all human events, at whose disposal are not only the hearts but the intellects of men, may He in his abundant mercy, guide your councils, and give his blessings upon your labors."

A few days after, the following note was received from this venerable man, addressed "To the American Ladies."

"My dear Friends,—Being very much indisposed to-day, and on that account obliged to leave London to-morrow for the country for a few days, where I can get a little ease and quiet, I should not like to take my departure without paying my personal respects to you, and acknowledging the obligations which our sacred cause owes to you, for having so warmly taken it

up, and protected it on your side of the water, against the attacks of its adversaries; and this in times of threatened persecution. We owe you also a debt of gratitude, for having made the sacrifice of leaving your families, and encountering the dangers of the ocean to serve it. If you will permit me, I will call upon you for half an hour for this purpose, and bring with me my daughter and little grandson.

I am, ladies, with the most cordial esteem and gratitude, your sincere friend,

THOMAS CLARKSON."

This proposed visit having become known, about forty persons assembled to have the satisfaction of being with him, and enjoying his presence; all of whom he greeted with cordiality and affection. One of our company, Elizabeth J. Neall, being introduced to him as the grand-daughter of Warner Mifflin, he said, with some emotion, "dear child! he was the first man in America who liberated his slaves unconditionally." During his stay, some of the young women asked his daughter for a lock of his hair; others perceiving it, also wanted this memento. A person present remarked, that his hair was in danger of being all cut off; to which he replied, "never mind, shear away." After some time spent in pleasant social conversation, they were about to leave, when my wife requested that the company would remain a short time in silence; which being readily complied with, she made some impressive remarks, addressed to T. Clarkson and his grandson, that appeared to be well received. A few days after, the following note was received from his daughter-in-law, addressed to my wife:

"My dear Friend—I send you, and others of our American friends, a few slips of paper, containing part of a sentence in my dear father's speech, at the opening of the Convention, written and signed by himself. It occurred to me from what I witnessed on Sunday evening, that it would give you pleasure and satisfaction to possess and distribute them. That evening I shall never forget, and bowed down as I was in my inmost spirit by the recollection of the missing link between grandfather and grandson, and by a glimpse of the uncertain future, as it regards my precious boy, I could not but catch the warmth of the enthusiasm around me; and I felt that if wisdom and strength were given me from above, my greatest earthly solace would be, to train the dear child of him, who was dearer to me than my own existence, in the upward path, which, though often toilsome, leads through infinite mercy to eternal glory. With feelings of great respect, I am, my dear friend, very sincerely yours,

MARY CLARKSON.

Hatchem House, June 17, 1840."

The Convention continued ten days, holding two sessions each day, from ten till two, and from four till seven o'clock. Most of the meetings were at the Free Masons' Hall, but that building being wanted for some other use, before the business of the Convention could be satisfactorily accomplished, Friends granted the use of their meeting-house at Grace Church street, in which it was held the two last days.

The day following the close of the Convention, a large public meeting was held in Exeter Hall, at which the Duke of Sussex presided, introduced by a Friend, who informed the audience that he had great pleasure in saying, that this titled piece of frail humanity had "condescended" to act as chairman. Another Friend "did not wish to repress the usual demonstrations, on the entrance of his Royal High-

ness." The adulation of an English audience for rank and title is disgusting to an American republican. Even many of those who consider themselves as the descendants of George Fox, and profess to adhere to the principles of freedom and equality which he inculcated, are deeply infected with this man-worship; giving this evidence, in addition to others, of their dereliction from the simple and independent practices which the true doctrines of Quakerism will always lead into.

On the evening of the day that the meeting at Exeter Hall was held, the members of the Convention, and others, took a parting cup of tea in a large public room at the "Crown and Anchor." It was supposed that from four to five hundred persons were present. As the resolution excluding women did not extend to this company, my wife embraced the opportunity to give her views on the subject of the use of the produce of slavery, which were listened to with attention, and apparently well received. In the course of her remarks, she mentioned the example and faithfulness of some members of the Society of Friends in this respect, without mentioning any names. Josiah Forster could not allow this allusion to pass unnoticed; and when she closed, he began to speak, by saying, that he "felt conscientiously bound to inform the company, and he did so with no other than feelings of kindness, that Lucretia Mott,"—when he had proceeded thus far, it was perceived that he was about to disclaim religious fellowship with her, and a general burst of disapprobation was manifested by

cries of "down, down, order, order, shame, shame;" but he finished his disavowal amidst the confusion, though very few heard what he said, neither did they wish to hear this exemplification of his intolerance. It is probable that all who were present knew before this, that the Society of Friends in England did not recognise us as being in connection with them. As soon as he had made his speech, he left the room, probably displeased that his feelings met with so little sympathy, or at the manifestation of dissatisfaction with his remarks.

During our stay in London, we attended two of the meetings of Friends on the mornings of First-day; one at Grace Church street, where ninety-six persons were present; and one at Devonshire house, about two hundred present; both silent, except a few words in the latter. The meetings at Southwark and Tottenham, we were told, were larger.

The opportunities I had for observation, though limited, satisfied me that a great portion of the Society in England, particularly among the young and middle-aged, know very little about the circumstances of the division in the Society of Friends in the United States, or that it was caused by that domineering spirit of intolerance, which now has its iron grasp upon many of them. They have been told that one Elias Hicks rose up in the Society of Friends in America, preaching dangerous doctrines of infidelity, and drew away quite a large number, who went off and left the Society. In connexion with this perversion and erroneous statement, the necessity of avoid-

ing "these separatists," seems to have been sedulously inculcated; for even after the lapse of so many years, the fact of our going to that country was so alarming, that Josiah Forster mentioned in their Yearly Meeting, that he had received a letter* from America, informing of our proposed visit; that we were of the separatists, and warned his associates to beware of us, and our doctrines. We had no idea that we were deemed of so much importance as to require such a proclamation of our visit. It is not likely that this act of *courtesy* would be returned if two, or even twenty, of their Friends were coming to this country, by any one thinking it of sufficient consequence to mention it in our Yearly Meeting, or give any caution respecting them.

Friends in England, from their habits of industry and economy, have become rich, and from this cause, added to their kindness of disposition, and active benevolence, have obtained great influence in neighborhoods where they reside, and in the nation at large. They have received a full share of attention and praise from those whom the usages and laws of the country place in what are called the higher classes; the nobility, gentry, and clergy. Pleased with the flattery bestowed upon them, they have been gradually sliding from the simple doctrine of obedience to the light within, as the ground of salvation, into the belief that assent to the dogmas of school divinity is essential; so that many have come to the

* From Stephen Grelett, we understood.

conclusion that the letter of the Scriptures is the paramount rule of action.

A considerable number, finding their fellow members not yet prepared to abandon the fundamental doctrine of the Society, have withdrawn therefrom, and joined other denominations; among whom were several who had for years made profession of ministering under the immediate influence of the Divine Spirit. Some have united with the Plymouth Brethren, a new sect, differing from the established Church, in some of their forms; others have gone to the Church, which class embraces many of the middle-aged and young. I apprehend, that unless Friends in England return to the simple doctrine of Quakerism, as believed in, and inculcated by George Fox and his contemporaries, instead of placing so much importance on an assent to particular opinions, they will be in danger of being swallowed up with the unintelligible dogmas of Church and State theology, while they may retain their identity, by their forms, and peculiarity of dress and address.

With many there is reason to fear the testimony against a corrupt and oppressive hierarchy is merely traditional; for assuredly if the same living, active principle that impelled *our* forefathers to cry out against this monster of iniquity and corruption, was alive in them, they would raise a trumpet-sound long and loud, that would awake the people of England to a just sense of the bondage in which they are held by the clerical establishments of the land. Instead of this, Friends quietly submit to the tithe distraints,

with the exception of an occasional and very respectful remonstrance.

Had the righteous indignation that was felt in years past, been continued and reiterated with the same honesty and boldness, the unholy association of church and state might ere this have been severed, and the people delivered from the tyranny of the priesthood.

A writer of the present day in England, in a letter to his friend in America, says :

"The true import and meaning of religion differs essentially from that of theology. The former embraces all the practical duties of man to his God ; the latter is a system of speculative truths and abstract theories. The primitive Quakers seem to have satisfied themselves with the cultivation of religion, leaving dogmas to cloistered writers and speculative declaimers : and whenever Quakers shall set up either written or *declared* creeds, instead of their quiet, peaceable worship, they will find themselves exhibiting a target, against which all sorts of theological missiles will be hurled with impunity, and they in turn must be combatants in that war which has caused more bloodshed than contests for crowns and empires.

"Melancthon, one of the first great reformers, said : 'Articles of faith must be often changed, and calculated for times and circumstances.' A distinguished English writer of the present day says: 'The church of England, it is true, has retained the same written articles for centuries, but the interpretation of these articles has been constantly varying. At one time, Armenianism was heresy ; at another Calvanism; again it was Socinianism; and at last it was agreed, or tacitly understood, that every man may interpret these articles his own way, without cross examination, or torturing interrogatories.'

"The present established Church of Great Britain consists of about six millions—Catholics, five—Dissenters, eight millions. The English Quakers are substantially, at this time, churchmen in *livery*, and compose the *body guards* of the bishops, standing between them and the thirteen millions really opposed to them, of Catholics and dissenters."

In the days of Geo. Fox, the bishops and priests looked upon him and his contemporaries as their greatest enemies. But in the present day we see that they who claim to be the descendants of those bold reformers, are considered the defenders and friends of the same class who persecuted their ancestors.

In conversation with an individual who stands in the station of a minister, on the fundamental principle of our profession, the immediate influence of the Divine Spirit, he insisted that while they admitted that doctrine, it must be considered only one part of the scheme of salvation; and it was equally necessary to believe that this Spirit came to us by and through Christ, and that by the shedding of his outward blood we obtained forgiveness of sins. I replied, that if we acknowledged the influence of the Spirit, and gave evidence, by our conduct, that we were obeying its dictates, I did not see why we should differ as to how this Spirit came to us. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, we hear the sound thereof, but cannot tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth." He thought it was important to believe that it came through Jesus Christ, and salvation by his outward sacrifice on the cross, because it was so taught in the Scriptures. That, I said, was only the result of his interpretation of Scripture; to which he answered, "not mine only, but of all professing Christians."

Another Friend said, that the great Jehovah, who created and upheld the worlds, dwelt in the body of flesh that was born of the virgin Mary; and when I

objected, because it was a gross idea, degrading to the character of the great I AM, and not according to my conceptions of his greatness and holiness; he replied that we were so taught in the Scripture, quoting the first of John; "In the beginning, &c." This led to some conversation as to Scripture authority, and its proper interpretation. I stated my agreement with the views of Robert Barclay, in his proposition on that subject, to which he said, "Barclay was a young man when he wrote that."

From the best information I could obtain, I think the number of those claiming to be of the Society of Friends in the United Kingdom, does not exceed seventeen thousand, and is decreasing. This decline is in part to be attributed to an increase of a worldly spirit, the consequence of the accumulation of large wealth, by some who had obtained and secured much influence in the affairs of the Society; and the members being accustomed to see, in the government of the nation, the few titled and wealthy control the many, are prepared to render an easy acquiescence to the views and dictation of this class among themselves. But when this control was attempted amongst us, who were accustomed to consider the few placed in offices as the servants of the many, we would not submit to the usurpation, and the separation ensued.

In England, another cause of declension was the association of Friends with the clergy in Missionary and Bible Societies, in which a knowledge of the letter of Scripture was held as the one thing needful.

Thus, in their endeavors to convey to others what has ever been considered by our Society as subordinate and secondary, they have so far fallen into the snare that some now consider it as being primary, and look upon the Bible with feelings bordering on idolatry, some instances of which we witnessed.

Although I have, perhaps, expressed myself strongly, in reference to what I consider the declension of the Society of Friends in England, it is with no feelings of unkindness towards them as a body, or to any individually; but for the purpose of showing what appeared to me to be their present situation, and that with our Friends they can have no unity or religious fellowship. If they think, as I have some reason to believe is the case, that we have any desire to be identified with them, they are entirely mistaken; for we are quite as willing to be distinct from them, as they are to be so from us. There is this difference between us; they insist that we shall hold their opinions and be of their belief, without which they will not associate with us; we are willing to mingle with them and permit them to enjoy their own opinions and belief, if they will not force them upon us. In the practice of the Christian duties of life, we claim no pre-eminence.

At our boarding house it was usual to read a chapter in the Bible after breakfast; this gave several opportunities to open some views of gospel truth in accordance with our belief. And being willing to have more public meetings, if way should open for it, the person with whom we boarded, who was a Baptist,

said there was a room attached to the chapel he attended, which he thought could be had. The next day he informed us the trustees had granted it for our occupancy, and the time was fixed for a meeting; but on the following day the grant was withdrawn, in consequence, as he told us, of information that had been given by some Friends to the trustees. Through the influence of our kind friend, Joseph Hutton, pastor of the Unitarian chapel in Carter Lane, that house was granted for a meeting, which was attended by a respectable audience.

The day after this meeting, we dined at Elizabeth J. Reid's, whose many and marked attentions to us will not soon be forgotten. Lady Byron was one of the company, with whom we had previous acquaintance through a letter of introduction from C. Combe. By invitation from Lady B., my L. accompanied her the next day on a visit to a manual labor school for poor children, that she had established six miles from London, and supported at her own expense. There were upwards of ninety boys, who were provided for and instructed; the older ones cultivated each a little garden spot, and had also built themselves a workshop for their mechanical operations. All appeared much delighted to see their benefactress, who distributed among them presents of books, &c. When they were collected, she addressed them briefly, expressive of her desire for their improvement and happiness; then introducing her friend from the United States, she expressed the wish that if any thing was said to them, they would remember as much of it as

they could, and send it to her in writing. Lady B.'s son-in-law, Lord Lovelace, has a similar school, on a larger scale, for boys and girls.

While we were in London, Samuel Gurney invited the Americans who were there, to dine, in company with a number of others. His mansion, formerly the residence of Dr. Fothergill, is four miles from the city, and is situated in a handsome park of one hundred acres. About sixty persons were present. The day was clear and fine, and the visit a very pleasant one.

The Duchess of Sutherland, from the interest she felt in the anti-slavery subject, wished to see the Americans who had crossed the Atlantic on this account, particularly William Lloyd Garrison, whose devotion to the cause had interested her in his behalf. Hearing they were to be at S. Gurney's, she signified her wish to call upon them there; accordingly, at the time appointed, she made her appearance, accompanied by her brother, Lord Morpeth, and her daughter, Lady Elizabeth, who mingled with the company for an hour, walking and conversing on the velvet lawn. Being altogether a novice in the etiquette of receiving such distinguished personages, I was amused at the consultations, as to the proper ceremonies to be observed on the occasion. By particular invitation, W. L. Garrison afterwards called upon the Duchess, and at her request sat for his likeness, that she might have it to place in her gallery of paintings.

Here we met with Elizabeth Fry, sister of S. G., who has done so much in reforming prison discipline;

benevolence of feeling, and amiableness of disposition, appear to be the prominent traits of her character.

We were also in company with E. Fry and several other Friends, at Wm. Ball's, Tottenham, who, when he invited us, said to my wife, "Although I differ from you widely on some subjects of the highest importance, yet my heart goes out towards you with much affection." During the evening he read a chapter in the Bible, saying it was their uniform practice, and he supposed none present would wish him to deviate from it; after which the way would be open for remarks from any of the company. The opportunity was embraced by several persons, among them our host, with what we did not consider quite old-fashioned Quakerism, but in great sincerity and excellent spirit. He was followed by a prayer from E. Fry, especially for the strangers from a foreign land, who had made sacrifices for the cause of the oppressed; that their work of humanity might be blessed to the breaking of the chains of the poor captive, but above all, blessed to themselves, in bringing them to the unsearchable riches of Christ.

Isaac and Anna Braithwaite attended the Convention; we saw them frequently, and dined with them at their lodgings by invitation. Some of their children have joined the Church; in speaking of which, Anna said: "It was a trial to me, but where there is sincerity we must have charity;" on which my wife remarked, "I hope you have learned to extend that charity towards some of us, whom you denounced a

few years ago." After a short pause she replied, "I was censured by some of my friends in America, for mingling with you and giving you as much countenance as I did."

Wm. Forster also attended the Convention, and took an active part in its business. To a kind invitation to visit him at Norwich, I replied, that if we went there, we should be pleased to call upon him; he said, "Not a *call*, but come to my house, I shall be glad to have a *visit* from you." My wife introduced Sarah Pugh to him as one of *their* Friends, when he said, "Don't say any thing about that; thou touches me in a tender spot; I remember thee with affection in Baltimore, in 1820." His brother Josiah wished to be very kind, but he seemed to feel it his place to stand guard on the walls of his Israel, watching on either side, in order, if possible, to prevent inroads.

By an invitation from Robert Forster, we visited the Borough Road School, where Joseph Lancaster first introduced the monitorial system of instruction. The department for boys was well conducted, and their education extended to some of the higher branches; while that for girls was limited to the rudiments of learning, with sewing. This inequality was remarked upon to R. Forster and the teachers, and the obligation urged to give to both sexes an equal opportunity for instruction and elevation. The idea prevails very generally, and has far too much influence in the public schools in England, that such an education as will qualify the children to become

good servants, is all that is necessary or useful; and a small portion, they seem to think, is sufficient to fit the girls for that station.

We also visited several of the national schools in London, and other places; and were gratified with the assurance given us that there was an increasing attention paid to the important subject of education. But a knowledge of the advantages that would result from a liberal diffusion of learning to all classes of the people, has not reached the Parliament of England, if we may judge from the fact that it appropriated seventy thousand pounds to build a new stable or riding house for the Queen, and at the same time only ten thousand pounds for the promotion of general education.

R. Forster kindly sent us copies of the books used at the Borough Road School, some of which we have found interesting and useful. In a note received from him, after we left London, he thus expresses himself:

"I am glad to hear that you have thus far enjoyed your tour in England; it was much my desire that you should do so. It occasioned me many a painful thought, when we met day after day in London, that we were divided upon some vitally important truths, and hence that we could not, in matters of religion, feel that fellowship that I would gladly have cherished. I longed for a little open conversation with thee, and if I had been more honest to my feelings, perhaps it would have presented. My dear friend, I desire to invite thee, in a meek and teachable spirit, and with earnest prayer, to inquire into the Scriptural doctrine of salvation by Christ, and see if thou canst not trace out that precious truth, that He is one with the Father, and that it is His blood alone that cleanseth

from sin. These doctrines have ever been accepted and taught in the Society of Friends; they are not comprehended in the will and wisdom of man, but as he yields to a meek and *teachable* spirit, God reveals his truths. Excuse my offering these remarks, be assured I do it in Christian love."

On our return to London, R. Forster invited us to his house at Tottenham, when I had a free conversation with him on the subject of his note.

We were twice, by invitation, at Dr. Bowring's, and highly enjoyed these visits to him and his interesting family. He has travelled much in the Eastern countries, and observed the manners and customs of the inhabitants; a knowledge of which, he thinks, increases the beauty and force of many parts of the Scriptures; for instance, "Behold the lilies of the field," &c.; he says the lily of that country grows to the height of several feet, and the color is more brilliant and gorgeous than any flower he has ever seen. He showed us a number of relics, taken out of one of the pyramids of Egypt, that had recently been opened, some of which he presented to us.

Doctor Bowring was a near neighbor and intimate friend of Jeremy Bentham, whose character he holds in high esteem. Bentham made him his executor, of which trust he is in every way worthy. He is well known as an excellent writer; some of his poetical productions are much esteemed. He possesses a superior and highly cultivated intellect, and an amount of general intelligence rarely found in one individual. He is distinguished for his liberal and benevolent feelings, and is much beloved by a large circle of friends. It is said

that he is well acquainted with more than twenty different languages; and is frequently employed by the British government in making negotiations with other nations.

We there met with Charles Pelham Villiers, the leading advocate in Parliament, for the modification or repeal of their corn laws, who made many inquiries as to the effect of such a measure on our country. He is also an advocate for free trade, and said that the United States is better situated for setting the example than any other nation; and expressed a hope that we might ere long see, that our true interest consists in holding out the olive branch on this subject to other nations, which he thinks would be reciprocated; and thus one great cause of war be removed, and the enormous expense of armies and navies be greatly reduced, if not wholly saved.

While in London, we received much attention from Wm. H. Ashurst, a lawyer of eminence, and his family, whose residence is at Muswell Hill, five miles from the city. He took an active part in favor of the change that has been effected in the postage on letters and papers. A pamphlet written by him, setting forth the advantages that would result from the alteration, was extensively circulated. At his house we met with Wm. and Mary Howitt, who were on their way to Germany. It was very pleasant to have this opportunity of forming an acquaintance with these interesting and estimable individuals, so extensively and favorably known in the literary world. Before they left the country, W. Howitt addressed

the following letter to my wife, respecting the exclusion of women from the Convention.

London, June 27th, 1840.

Dear Friend:

I snatch the few last minutes of a very hurried time before embarking for Germany, to express to you and your fellow delegates the sense I have of your unworthy reception in this country, which has grown on me for the last week extremely; even amid the overwhelming pressure of arrangements, inevitable on quitting London for a considerable stay abroad. Mary and myself greatly regret that we had left our home before we had the opportunity of seeing you, or we should have had the sincerest pleasure in welcoming you here to spend at least one day of quiet, as pleasant as that which we spent with you at our worthy friend Mr. Ashurst's at Muswell Hill. I regret still more that my unavoidable absence from town prevented my making part of the Convention, as nothing should have hindered me from stating there, in the plainest terms, my opinion of the real grounds on which you were excluded.

It is pitiable that you were excluded on the plea of being women; but it is disgusting that, under that plea, you were actually excluded as heretics. That is the real ground of your exclusion, and it ought to have been at once proclaimed and exposed by the liberal members of the Convention; but I believe they were not aware of the fact. I heard of the circumstance of your exclusion at a distance, and immediately said—"Excluded on the ground that they are women?" No, that is not the real cause—there is something behind. Who and what are these female delegates? Are they orthodox in religion? The answer was, "No, they are considered to be of the Hicksite party of Friends." My reply was, "That is enough—*there* lies the real cause, and there needs no other. The influential Friends in the Convention would never for a moment tolerate their presence there, if they could prevent it. They hate them, because they have dared to call in question their sectarian dogmas and assumed authority; and they have taken care to brand them in the eyes of the Calvinistic Dissenters, who form another large and influential portion of the

Convention, as Unitarians—in their eyes the most odious of heretics."

But what a miserable spectacle is this! The "World's Convention" converting itself into the fag-end of the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends! That Convention, met from various countries and climates to consider how it shall best advance the sacred cause of humanity—of the freedom of the race, independent of caste or color, immediately falls the victim of bigotry, and one of its first acts is, to establish a caste of sectarian opinion, and to introduce color into the very soul! Had I not seen, of late years, a good deal of the spirit which now rules the Society of Friends, my surprise would have been unbounded at seeing *them* argue for the exclusion of women from a public body, *as women*. But nothing which they do now surprises me. They have in this case, to gratify their wretched spirit of intolerance, at once abandoned one of the most noble and most philosophical of the established principles of their own Society. That Society claims, and claims justly, to be the first Christian body which has recognized the great Christian doctrine, that THERE IS NO SEX IN SOULS—that male and female are all one in Christ Jesus. They were Fox, and Penn, and the first giants of the Society, who dared, in the face of the whole world's prejudices. to place woman in her first rank,—to recognize and maintain her moral and intellectual equality. It was this Society which thus gave to woman her inalienable rights—her true liberty; which restored to her the exercise of mind, and the capacity to exhibit before man, her assumed ancient lord and master, the highest qualities of the human heart and understanding—discretion, sound counsel, sure sagacity, mingled with feminine delicacy, and that beautiful, innate modesty, which avails more to restrain its possessor within the bounds of prudence and usefulness, than all the laws and customs of corrupt society. It was this Society which, at once fearless in its confidence in woman's goodness and sense of propriety, gave to its female portion its own Meetings of Discipline—meetings of civil discussion, and transaction of actual and various business. It was this Society which did more—which permitted its women, in the face of a great apostolic injunction, to stand forth in its churches and preach the

gospel. It has in fact sent them out, armed with the authority of its certificates, to the very ends of the earth, to preach in public—to visit and persuade in private. And what has been the consequence? Have the women put their faith and philosophy to shame? Have they disgraced themselves or the Society which has confided in them? Have they proved by their follies, their extravagances, their unwomanly boldness and want of a just sense of decorum, that these great men were wrong? On the contrary, I will venture to say, and I have seen something of all classes, that there is not in the whole civilized world, a body of women to be found, of the same numbers, who exhibit more modesty of manner and delicacy of mind than the ladies of the Society of Friends; and few who equal them in sound sense and dignity of character. There can be no question, that the recognition of the moral and intellectual equality of the most lovely and interesting portion of our Society has tended, and that very materially, to raise them greatly in value, as wives, as bosom friends, and domestic counsellors, whose inestimable worth is only discovered in times of trial and perplexity.

And here have gone the little men of the present day, and have knocked down, in the face of the world, all that their mighty ancestors, "in this respect, had built up!" If they are at all consistent, they must carry out their new principle, and sweep with it through the ancient constitution of their own society. They must at once put down meetings of discipline amongst their women—they must call home such as are in distant countries, or are traversing this, preaching and visiting families. There must be no more appointments of women to meet committees of men, to deliberate on matters of great importance to the Society. But the fact, my dear friend, is, that bigotry is never consistent, except that it is always narrow, always ungracious, and always, under plea of uniting God's people, scattering them one from another, and rendering them weak as water.

I want to know what religious opinions have to do with a "World's Convention." Did you meet to settle doctrines, or conspire against slavery? Many an august council has attempted to settle doctrines, and in vain; and you had before

you a subject so vast, so pressing, so momentous, that in presence of its sublimity, any petty jealousy and fancied idea of superiority ought to have fallen as dust from the boughs of a cedar. You, as delegates, had to meet this awful fact in the face, and to consider how it should be grappled with ! how the united power of civilized nations should be brought to bear upon it! The fact, that, after nearly a century of gradually growing and accumulating efforts to put down slavery and the slave trade, little has been done—that there are now more slaves in the world than ever, and that the slave-trade is far more extensive and monstrous than it was when Clarkson raised his voice against it, and dedicated himself body and soul to its extinction—that is a fact, which, if the men who now take the lead in warring on the evil were truly great men, it would silence in them every other feeling than that of its enormity; and the godlike resolve that all hands and all hearts should be raised before Heaven, and united in its spirit, to chase this spreading villany from the earth speedily and for ever. But men, however benevolent, cannot be great men if they are bigots. Bigots are like the peasants who build their cabins in the mighty palaces of the ancient Cæsars. The Cæsars who raised the vast fabrics are gone, and the power in which they raised them is gone with them. Poor and little men raise their huts within those august palace walls, and fancy themselves the inhabitants of the palaces themselves. So in the mighty fane of Christianity, bigots and sectarians are continually rearing their little cabins of sects and parties, and would fain persuade us, while they fill their own narrow tenements, that they fill the glorious greatness of Christianity itself! It is surely high time that, after eighteen hundred years of Christ's reign, we should be prepared to allow each other to hold an opinion on the most important of all subjects to ourselves. It is surely time that we opened our eyes sufficiently to see what is so plain in the gospel—the sublime difference between the spirit of Christ and the spirit of his disciples, when they fain would have made a *bigot* of him. "We saw men doing miracles in thy name—and we forbade them." "Forbid them not, for they who are not against us are with us." It is not by *doctrines* that Christ said that his disciples should be known, but by their *fruits*—

and by the greatest of all fruits—*love*. You, dear friend, and those noble women to whom I address myself when addressing you, have shown in your own country the grand Christian testimonial of love to mankind in the highest degree. You have put your lives in your hands, for the sake of man's freedom from caste, color and mammon; and the greatest disgrace that has of late years befallen this country is, that you have been refused admittance as delegates to the Convention, met ostensibly to work that very work for which you have so generously labored and freely suffered.

The Convention has not merely insulted you, but those who sent you. It has testified that the men of America are at least far ahead of us in their opinion of the discretion and usefulness of women. But above all, this act of exclusion has shown how far the Society of Friends is fallen from its ancient state of greatness, and catholic nobleness of spirit.

But my time is gone. I have not said one-half, one-tenth, one-hundredth part of what I could say to you and to your companions on this subject; but of this be assured, time and your own delegators will do you justice. The true Christians in all ages were the heretics of the time; and this I say, not because I believe exactly as you do, for, in truth, I neither know, nor desire to know, exactly, how far we think alike. All that I know, or want to know, is, that you have shown the grand mark of Christian truth—love to mankind.

I have heard the noble Garrison blamed that he has not taken his place in the Convention, because you, his fellow delegates, were excluded. I, on the contrary, honor him for his conduct. In mere worldly wisdom he might have entered the Convention, and there entered his protest against the decision—but in at once refusing to enter, where you, his fellow delegates, were shut out, he has entered a far nobler protest, not in the mere Convention, but in the world at large. I honor the lofty principle of that true champion of humanity, and shall always recollect with delight, the day Mary and I spent with you and him.

I must apologise for this most hasty, and, I fear, illegible scrawl, and with our kind regards and best wishes for your safe return to your native country, and for many years of ho-

norable labor there, for the truth and freedom, I beg to subscribe myself, most sincerely, your friend,

WILLIAM HOWITT.

At our friend Ashhurst's we also met with Robert Owen, who afterwards called upon us at our lodgings, and talked of his visionary schemes to reform the world, which his large benevolence and hope flatter him into a belief will soon be generally adopted. He appears to be a man of kind feelings, and spends his time in vainly endeavoring to convince mankind that his social system will make them better and happier. It affords him pleasure to talk about it, and anticipate its speedy adoption. I considered it an innocent speculation, and did not see why any one should deem it worth while to oppose him, for he has not such powers of mind as will enable him to bring about any great change, or accomplish any mighty work.

After spending about four weeks in London, we went to Birmingham, a distance of one hundred and ten miles, by rail-road, where we remained a few days at the house of our kind friend Wm. Boultbee. We visited several of the manufacturing establishments, and were informed that their business was much depressed; the United States being their best foreign market, many inquired with apparent anxiety, as to the probability of an early revival of demand from that quarter.

A Catholic priest, Thomas M. M'Donald, whom we had seen in London, with a kindness and liberality worthy of example, tendered us the use of a large

room for a meeting, which we declined accepting, as a more convenient place was offered for the purpose, in the basement of a new Unitarian chapel. This meeting was well attended, and the people appeared satisfied with the views and doctrines they heard. We had evidence that this opportunity, as well as others, was not without effect; a number of inquiring minds signified their unity, and some acknowledged the opening of religious truth on their understandings and hearts in a light they never before experienced. These were not among the orthodox Friends; they are fast bound to their new creeds, and are becoming more and more formal in their worship.

During our stay, in company with W. Boultbee, I went to a coal pit, ten miles distant, and being desirous of going into it, the foreman readily consented to conduct me. We were lowered down a perpendicular shaft, by a steam engine, to the depth of seven hundred and twenty feet; on reaching the bottom, I followed my guide, each having a candle in hand, along the drifts for nearly half a mile. In several places miners were at work, who, on being told a stranger had come to see them, replied, "Very glad to see the gentleman, shall be happy to drink his health." Thirty men and boys are employed in getting out the coal. The mining is continued day and night, by two sets of workmen; the coal is raised only during the day; it is hauled to the shaft on small wagons, running on rail-ways laid in the drifts, and drawn by horses, of which five were kept in this pit. On our return we passed a beautiful and ro-

mantic spot, once the residence of the poet Shenstone.

I called upon Samuel Lloyd, a wealthy banker, who has for many years been a minister in the Society of Friends, but had withdrawn about a year previously, and joined the Plymouth Brethren; I found him, as I thought, very outward and superficial in his views. Speaking of a lecture that was to be delivered that evening in the town hall, on capital punishment, by George Harris, he said, "My mind is made up on that subject." Wishing to understand his meaning, I inquired how, or which way his mind was made up? Taking from his pocket a small Bible, he replied, "This book settles the question." "Yes, but which way does it settle the question?" "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." But that, I intimated, was not under the Christian dispensation, which teaches the forgiveness of our enemies. Slapping his hand on the book, he replied, "Here it is in plain words, that's enough for me, I go no further;" and opening the volume added, "O the blessedness of this book! O the blessedness of this book! I desire above all things to understand it, and to be governed by it."

While in Birmingham we met with George Harris, a Unitarian minister of Glasgow. We were glad of this opportunity to make his acquaintance. His fame as the eloquent vindicator of his injured fellowmen, had reached our country. During our stay we attended a lecture delivered by him on "Capital Punishment," which was replete with sound argu-

ment, having for its basis humanity and truth. The speaker furnished most valuable statistics, and facts of great importance to the advocate of the inviolability of human life. From twenty-five hundred to three thousand persons were present. It was encouraging to hear so good a cause ably managed, and urged upon the consideration of his audience, with an earnestness and eloquence rarely equalled. The great attention bestowed by such a large collection of hearers, was an evidence that the labor of the lecturer was not in vain.

From Birmingham, we went to Matlock, in Derbyshire, a beautiful and romantic place, famous for its spar and caves, one of which we visited. Conducted by a lad, and each provided with a candle, we entered a narrow descending passage for some distance, to a large open space, say fifteen feet wide, twenty feet long, and ten feet high; passing through which into another narrow passage, leading into a second opening, and so on till we reached the fifth room, about one thousand feet from the entrance. Small portions of lead ore are to be seen in some places, but not in sufficient quantity to be worth getting out. The openings to these caves, are about half-way up the side of a high hill, at the base of which, are several large springs of petrifying water.

From Matlock, passing through Buxton, a place much frequented by fashionable invalids, on account of its warm springs, we proceeded to Liverpool, paid William Rathbone and family another pleasant visit, and thence by steamboat to Dublin, one hundred

miles across the Irish sea. Most of the persons on board were deck passengers ; the wind blowing fresh, and the water being rough, many were very sea-sick. Exposed as they were to the cold wind, night air, and some rain and spray from the dashing of the waves against the vessel, their situation appeared to be exceedingly uncomfortable ; we pitied but could not relieve them.

Most of the aristocracy of Ireland reside in Dublin, and spend much of their time in riding and visiting. Many of the streets being wide and M'Adamised, it is pleasant and easy to ride over them for an airing. The contrast between the rich and poor was more striking than in any other place we visited. Although the carriages and equipage were moderate, compared with those which we had seen in London, yet the squalid appearance, and the patched and tattered garments, of the numerous beggars at all times to be seen in every part of the city, showed a state of poverty that we had not before witnessed ; and a stranger with any benevolence of feeling, would soon have his pockets lightened of all the copper they contained. The poor are not, however, generally importunate, but solicit alms with mildness and modesty; they never knock or ring at the doors. Middle-aged women mostly have a babe in their arms, and not unfrequently two, which they call twins ; they are said to be very kind to each other, in lending their children for this purpose.

Much of the labor is performed by women ; they work in the fields side by side with men ; generally

bare-footed and bare-headed, while the men have shoes and hats; and this does not outrage English feeling or delicacy. It is only on moral and religious ground that woman must not assert her equality, nor have it advocated for her. In the political arena, she is not only equal, but head, ruler, Queen.

It may be asked whether all this poverty, filth, and degradation, is not as bad as our slavery? I am fully prepared to say NO; for our slavery is all this, and more. There, amidst all, they have comparatively good schools, where the poor can and do send their children for instruction; hence a better race is coming up. They have also their abundant places of worship, as well as their "domestic missions," of which many avail themselves, and are benefited. They have their children around them, and find their mud-wall and ground-floor cabin to be a home for them, where their privacy and enjoyment may not be invaded. They have some redress for injuries by law, as well as in the sympathies of those to whom they may represent their wrongs; they *may beg*, and of that they appear not to be ashamed. In a word, they are *free*, and can go and come as they please, to some extent at least, as the crowded steerage of the ships to America bears witness.

In many cases, our slaves in the South have no clothing at all allowed their children while young, and that of adults is often as bad as bad can be. Our slaves cannot be taught to read; have no redress for injuries; have nothing they can call their own—except their sufferings and sorrows—not even them-

selves or their children. In short, ours are *slaves*, to be driven about at any time and all times, at the will of another; the law considers them as mere chattels, and they are treated accordingly. One class is oppressed and poor; kings, nobles, and priests, living by their hard labor. The other is robbed of every thing, and we living in part on the spoils. The wrongs of both need reparation, and both will get it.

The generous, warm-hearted hospitality extended to us, during the week we remained in Dublin, will long be remembered with pleasure.

In company with our friend James Haughton, we attended a meeting of the Temperance Society, held in one of the rooms of the Exchange, which was large, and composed mostly of the poorer class; the spirit that was manifested in promoting the object of the association was cheering and encouraging. Not many of the rich take much active interest in this cause; our friend J. H., and a few others, are honorable exceptions; they are unwearied in their labors to improve the condition of the people.

In some instances we heard persons bestowing much praise upon "Father Mathew," for the great good he was doing to the *poor*, in bringing them to habits of temperance; while the eulogists were at the same time sipping glass after glass of wine, and expressing their likes and dislikes of the different kinds. The time, we may hope, is not far distant, when a correct public opinion will show to the wine-bibbers and moderate drinkers, that they are the greatest stumbling blocks to the progress of a cause so eminently calculated to benefit mankind.

Our friend, Richard Allen, accompanied us on a visit to the National Schools, which were in commodious buildings, well filled with scholars, and apparently well conducted. He also took us in his jaunting car, (a vehicle peculiar to Ireland,) to the Mendicity, which is an institution supported by voluntary contributions, where many hundreds daily resort to obtain their meals; we saw them giving out what they call stir-about, (oat-meal mush,) which is eaten in the house. Some work is also provided, but those who have their own work can do it at the establishment.

Wishing to visit the parts of the city in which the many poor we saw in the streets resided, our friend Richard D. Webb conducted us to the Liberties. The buildings were of brick, but very old and dilapidated, and poor indeed must those be who occupy them.

Our friend Dr. Hutton, of London, having given us letters of introduction to his parents, residing near Dublin, we availed ourselves of an early opportunity to visit this interesting couple, who seemed to be enjoying a cheerful old age, as the result of a well-spent life. Their handsome and highly cultivated garden, with its abundant vegetables, flowers, and delicious gooseberries, showed that the hand of industry had its reward. At their house we met with Dr. Drummond, a distinguished Unitarian minister, well known as an author. He appeared to be a man of enlarged benevolence, liberal in his views, and charitable in his feelings toward those who differ from him in religious opinion;

on parting with him, he presented us with copies of some of his works.

On First-day morning we attended the meeting of Friends. About three hundred persons were present; after a long silence, my wife gave an exhortation, occupying ten or fifteen minutes, which was quietly listened to; one Friend told me that he expected every minute she would have been requested to sit down; but I think from the stillness and attention that was given, they heard willingly. She was followed by a prayer, from the only minister of that meeting, a woman, that they might be preserved from a state of lukewarmness; which was in accordance with what had been previously expressed.

If the minds of Friends in that city, as well as some other places in the United Kingdom, could be divested of the prejudice which misrepresentation has so strongly fastened upon them, in relation to our Friends, I cannot but believe that many would view us in a different light from that which they now do.

To effect a change would require much time and labor; for it is surprising to see how generally and strongly the impression exists, that we have gone off and left the Society of Friends. One Friend asked us whether we had ever been members of the Society. The change of opinion, which has so often been the result of personal intercourse and examination, by some who have removed to this country, shows what might be the case with many others, if free from the trammels that now bind them. But the truth would be far more difficult of dissemination in that country than

in this ; because of the influence of the rulers, who are not willing to listen to it themselves, nor to permit others to hear it.

Several persons have withdrawn from the meetings in Dublin, and some other places, and are called Jacobites; from Joshua Jacobs, who, a few years ago, appeared acceptably in the ministry, but from some cause, which I did learn, he became dissatisfied with Friends, and they with him, which resulted in a disownment. We called to see him, but he had gone to the country ; his wife, after we had informed her who we were, and made a few inquiries, put a stop to our conversation, by putting her hand to her mouth and saying, "I do not feel that any thing is given me to say." They assert that they are Friends, and those who call themselves so are not, because they have departed from the doctrines, practices, and simplicity of the Society.

The condition of the people of Ireland is rapidly improving under the Temperance Reformation, which has spread so extensively through the influence of "Father Mathew." The improvement in Dublin, as well as in many other places, in the habits of the poorer classes, within two years, we were informed, was strikingly manifest. Many of the Publicans, as they are called, have been obliged to abandon the selling of liquor, in consequence of the falling off of customers ; some of the shops are shut up, some turned into Temperance grocery stores, and others into chop-houses. The demand for schools has greatly increased, and more attention is now being paid to general education in

Ireland, than in England. The veneration in which the great "Apostle of Temperance" is held, is truly wonderful. Many go to him to be cured of bodily diseases of various kinds, and notwithstanding his assurance of his inability to do them any good in this respect, further than his urging upon them a change in their habits and mode of living will effect it, yet many believe themselves cured or greatly relieved by the laying on of his hands.

The Temperance Reformation must, in the nature of things, produce great improvement in the moral and physical condition of this oppressed people. They are looked upon and treated by England, as a conquered nation. Manufactures and foreign commerce have been discouraged, by laws and restrictions, until both are much decreased. It seems to be the policy of England to make the people of Ireland consumers of her manufactures, and agricultural producers for her operatives. Most of the large landed proprietors reside in England, and draw many millions annually in rent from the hard earnings of the laborer. The law for the collection of rents is all on the side of the landlord; many of whom claim their inheritance as heirs of those who aided in conquering Ireland, when large tracts of land were confiscated, and bestowed upon those who assisted in reducing the Irish to submission, or were favorites of the king. This is a source of much dissatisfaction and uneasiness to the people of Ireland, as most of the descendants of those whom they consider the rightful owners of these domains, are living in poverty. Various

means and associations are now being resorted to, for the purpose of bringing about a change in the articles of union, and an amelioration of the laws. The hand of English power has been so strong on Ireland, that it is not strange the oppressed should look about, to see what will release them from the grasp.

From Dublin we rode to Belfast, on the outside of the stage-coach, distance 102 English miles. At most of the stations for changing horses, persons were waiting the arrival of the coach, to solicit alms of the passengers. At Drogheda we were literally surrounded by applicants for charity, who with modest and suppliant tones, portrayed their poverty and suffering. The general appearance of the country differs considerably from that of England. Instead of the handsome hedges, interspersed with trees, and comparatively comfortable residences of the English farmer, we now saw small mud cabins with thatched roofs, scattered thickly over the country, the domicils of the Irish peasant; the fields divided by ditches, and for miles scarcely a tree; the whole bearing the impress of degradation and poverty. In the north of Ireland, which is principally settled by the Scotch, the general appearance of the country is much improved, and similar to what we afterwards saw in Scotland. The cottages are of stone or brick, mostly white-washed, which gives them an air of neatness, cleanliness, and comfort, that the others do not possess. In this section of the country flax is cultivated extensively, and the manufacture of linen is carried on to a considerable extent. The same laws, which

have in other parts almost annihilated manufacturing, are not sufficient to repress Scottish energy.

Wm. Bell, the Editor of "The Irish Friend," called upon us soon after we arrived in Belfast, and gave us an invitation to breakfast with him the following morning, which we accepted, and were pleased with him and his family. He is a man of intelligence and kind feelings, and strongly orthodox in his opinions on religious subjects. He made many inquiries about America, having had some prospect of removing to the United States.

From Belfast we crossed in a steamer to Glasgow, in Scotland. The scenery on the river Clyde is very beautiful. From its mouth, to some miles above Greenock, the land is high and broken, interspersed with cultivated fields, and neat white cottages. About ten miles below Glasgow, the river becomes narrow, and the banks on both sides walled, to prevent their being washed away by the constant passing of steam boats. The country is level and highly cultivated; altogether, the different and ever-varying views, we thought the most beautiful that we had seen. Glasgow is a city of considerable business; extensive manufactures of fine muslin are carried on. The streets are mostly wide and straight, and the houses built of stone, four to six stories high. A common staircase on the back part, leading from a court or alley, serves for entrance to the different stories, or flats, as they call them, each of which is let or "feud" by itself. So that it is usual for two, three, or more families to occupy one house; yet they are entirely se-

parate, except the common stairway, the steps of which are usually of stone.

The day after our arrival being First-day, we attended the meeting of Friends, thirty-eight persons were present; two of whom were ministers from Yorkshire, brothers, by the name of Foster; one of them preached at some length on human depravity and the atonement, remembering, however, somewhat of ancient doctrine, and acknowledging the influence of the Spirit of Christ, and the necessity of taking up the cross; the other supplicated that we might be brought to the right faith; a dependence on the propitiatory sacrifice to restore our fallen nature, &c. These opportunities of again hearing this scheme of salvation, made me rejoice that so large a portion of our Friends resisted the attempt to engraft it on our simple stock. I deplore the fact that so large a proportion of professing Christians are preaching up this outward salvation, instead of directing men to Christ within themselves, and giving evidence that they know him and love him, by exhibiting the fruits of his Spirit.

Sarah Pugh and Abby Kimber, who had been our companions, and who added much to the interest of our travels, from their general and intimate knowledge of history, &c., left us in London and joined H. B. Stanton and wife in a visit to Paris. Hearing they had returned, and were at Edinburgh, we took coach for that place, forty-two miles distant, and found them at the house of George Thompson, so pleasantly situated, and delightfully entertained, that

they seemed in no hurry to leave. The city of Edinburgh is built on three parallel hills; on the west end of the middle one the celebrated Castle is situated; inaccessible except on one side, which is strongly fortified. This eminence affords a fine view of the city and surrounding country. At the other end of the street, leading from the Castle, is Holy Rood House, once the residence of the kings of Scotland, which is kept in a good state of repair. Some of the remains of antiquity, the private apartment of the unfortunate Queen Mary, with its crumbling furniture, and even the stain of Rizzio's blood, are shown to strangers with great veneration. The new part of Edinburg, which stands on the north of the three ridges, is handsome; the streets are wide and straight, and the buildings more uniform in their external appearance, than in any place we had seen. The contrast between the new and old part is very striking; in the latter the houses are dilapidated, and many of them six to eight stories high. The house in which John Knox resided was pointed out, projecting a few feet beyond the adjoining one; from a corner window in the second story, it is said, he used to preach to assembled multitudes in the street.

We rode out of town a mile or two, to call upon our friends George Combe and wife, who received us cordially. It was no small gratification to receive the welcome of those who had contributed so much to our pleasure and instruction, in our own country.

Accompanied by our kind friend, George Thompson, we left Edinburgh to return to Glasgow, through

some of the lakes, and over the highlands of Scotland. Taking steamboat, we passed up the river Forth to Stirling, where is another of the Castles, situated on one of those isolated and almost inaccessible rocky heights, for which that country is so remarkable. From Stirling we proceeded by post-coaches to Loch Katrine; here we employed two boatmen, and were rowed the length of this water, ten miles, passing the small islands, and places celebrated by Walter Scott, in his "Lady of the Lake." One of our boatmen had been employed by this author, in his visits to those scenes, while writing that work. He related many incidents that were amusing and interesting, and could, I believe, repeat the contents of that volume, answering our questions by copious recitations, much to the delight of our companions. All the ponies kept to convey passengers to Loch Lomond, five miles distant, were on the other side. After taking some refreshment of milk, and oat-meal bannocks, we prepared for our walk, (the men carrying our baggage,) which we accomplished without much fatigue; the volubility of our guide, and the constantly varying highland scenery, beguiled the time and distance. We passed down Loch Lomond, in a small steamboat, twenty miles; on the side of this lake is Ben Lomond, the loftiest peak of the highlands. This little excursion was rendered doubly interesting by the company and kind attentions of our friend, George Thompson. Our boatman, as well as others we met in the highlands, used a language I had not before heard,

which, on inquiry, I found to be the Gælic; it is in common use; and is the first language the children of the highlands learn.

At a meeting in Glasgow, called for the purpose of hearing George Thompson speak on the subject of British India, a large number of the Chartists attended, and insisted upon being heard in relation to the wrongs and oppression under which they, their wives and children, were suffering, before the wrongs of those who were many thousand miles off were discussed. Although they were out of order, the meeting being for a specific object, yet we felt much sympathy and interest in their behalf; my wife requested, verbally to the chairman, and by a note, to have the liberty of addressing the audience a few minutes, but it was denied her. A colored man, Charles L. Remond, of Newport, Rhode Island, was, however, listened to with attention, as he had also been in London and other places; showing that while they have a strong prejudice against listening to the expostulations or exhortations of women, they have not the unholy prejudice against color, that so cruelly oppresses that portion of our fellow-citizens in this country.

George Harris, minister of the Unitarian Chapel, to whom we had been introduced when in Birmingham, being absent from Glasgow while we were there, in a letter addressed to us says :

"I am happy in offering you the use of my chapel and pulpit, either on Sunday evening, or any evening of the following week you may choose to address the people, on slavery,

education, or our common faith in God and man, and our Saviour. The committee of our chapel likewise unanimously offer the place of worship for these purposes to you."

After giving directions to whom to apply, &c., he thus concludes his letter:

"Again expressing my deep regret, that I have not been allowed to welcome you personally to Glasgow, and with earnest prayer for your continued health, and usefulness in the great work, to which you have in so truly Christian spirit devoted yourself, I am your faithful friend."

This offer was accepted, and a meeting held on the evening of First-day; the house was crowded, and we had abundant reason to believe that the opportunity was satisfactory to those present. But the small handful of Friends in that city did not suffer so good an opportunity of disclaiming us to pass, and accordingly caused to be published in one or more of the public papers, the following communication:

To the Editor of the Glasgow Argus.

Respected Friend,—Intimation having been given on the 8th current, by means of placards extensively posted throughout the city, that "on Sabbath first, the 9th inst. Mrs. Lucretia Mott, a minister of the Society of Friends, Philadelphia, would hold a meeting in the Christian Unitarian chapel"—and that meeting having, we understand, been numerously attended by our fellow-citizens, we deem it right, on behalf of the Society of Friends residing in Glasgow, to inform the public that we hold no religious fellowship with Lucretia Mott, nor with the body in the United States (called Hicksites) to which she belongs; they not being recognised by the Society of Friends in the United Kingdom, nor by those Friends with whom we are in connection in America; and that we do not wish to be in any way identified with, or con-

sidered responsible for any sentiments that Lucretia Mott may have uttered at the meeting above referred to.

We are respectfully thy friends,

William Smeal,
William White,
John Maxwell,
James Smeal,
Edward White.

Glasgow, 12th of Eighth mo., 1840.

We left Glasgow on the morning of the 11th inst. and did not see the foregoing document until the day before we were to sail from Liverpool, when I addressed the following letter to Wm. Smeal, the only one of the signers with whom I was acquainted. He had, both in London and Glasgow, manifested a feeling of much kindness, and disapproved of the exclusion of women from the Convention, assuring us that in Scotland it would not be so; but he was mistaken, for in no place did we meet with more sectarian bigotry and prejudice, than in Glasgow. The letter to W. Smeal I enclosed to George Harris, for him to make what use of it he might think best. He had it published in the newspapers. It was as follows:

Liverpool, Eighth mo. 24th, 1840.

William Smeal,

Respected Friend,—After reaching London, a few days since, I first heard of a publication in the Glasgow Argus, signed by thyself and four others, respecting my wife, and the notice of a meeting she had in the Unitarian Chapel, but which publication I did not see until this day. Had either of you been at the meeting, it is probable you would not have thought such a disavowal necessary; as I distinctly stated to the audience, that a division in the Society of Friends had taken place

in the United States, about twelve years since; that we belonged to that portion of the division which was not recognised as Friends by those of this country; that we claimed, however, to be Friends, and were members of the largest portion of the division in Pennsylvania, (reading a certificate our monthly meeting had furnished us,) our number being about twenty thousand, and the other side about eight thousand; and the whole number in the United States on our side, nearly eighty thousand; that I mentioned these things in order that it might be understood who we were, that no one might be deceived, for we did not wish to pass for any thing different from what we were. I doubt not but all of the large audience fully and clearly understood our position, and could say, on seeing your disclaimer, "You might have saved yourself the trouble and exposure, for Mr. Mott informed us they were not in connection with you."

Now those who are ignorant of the facts may suppose, from your disclaimer, that we wanted to be considered as Friends connected with you, and attempted to pass ourselves off as such; which we should be quite as unwilling to do, as you would be to be identified with us. I also should be as unwilling to be responsible for sentiments I *heard* in your meeting, as you seem to be for sentiments you did *not hear* in the chapel.

One difference between us is this. You call yourselves Friends, and claim to be such; whatever our opinion may be as to the fact, we do not deny or question your right to call yourselves by this name. We also call ourselves Friends, and claim to be such; but *you deny us* the right to the name, and reproachfully apply the epithet of Hicksites, which we disclaim, it having been used by our opposers in derision.

You may say that you lament our declension, or departure from what you consider and believe to be the doctrines of the Society of Friends. We, also, as sincerely lament your departure from what we consider and believe to be the doctrines and practices of the Society; so that in this respect we stand on equal grounds. Of one thing I have had such evidence, as fully satisfies me of the fact, that Friends in this country are deplorably ignorant of the causes of the division in America, and of the relative circumstances of the two parties then or at

the present time; and that they cherish a spirit of prejudice and bigotry towards us, incompatible with the benign religion of Jesus. Of this, however, we do not complain, as you are the sufferers; but we deplore the unchristian conduct this leads many into. I am satisfied a difference in opinion on doctrine does exist between you and us; but this does not settle the question as to which is right or which wrong. I suppose you believe yourselves right, and holding doctrines in accordance with Fox, Penn, Barclay, &c. I fully believe we do, and can bring as much evidence to support our views as you can.

What is the ground of warnings given in your yearly meeting, you verbal and newspaper disclaimers? Are you afraid of being robbed of your good name? or are your doctrines of such an evanescent character, that they are in danger of vanishing before the sunshine of truth? Does it not show a want of confidence in your principles, or in the solidity and durability of your position? It is a small matter to us to be judged of man, or to have our religious faith called in question, or to be charged with worshipping the God of our Fathers after the manner called heresy; all this moves us not. But I grieve at the manifestation of a spirit that will deliver a brother up to death, as far as the law and customs of the country will allow; it is the same which a few years ago imprisoned, burned, and hung those who held opinions on religious subjects different from those who then possessed the legal power. We do not find any charge of immoral conduct brought against those martyrs, but holding opinions dangerous to the peace and unity of the church; or more correctly, not holding opinions that were deemed essential to salvation. It is easy to be very liberal and charitable towards those who believe more than we do; but those who believe less, we are ready enough to denounce heretical, dangerous innovaters, not to be countenanced. When will men respect properly the right of private opinion? Not until they learn that religion consists, not in the assent of the mind to any dogma, nor yet in the belief of any mysterious proposition of faith, but in visiting the widow and the fatherless, and keeping ourselves unspotted from the world.

"I am sick of opinions, I am weary to bear them, my soul

loathes their frothy food; give me solid substantial religion—give me an honest devoted lover of God and man." "It is time Christians were judged by their likeness to Christ, rather than by their notions (opinions) of Christ." It appears to me you take the latter ground of judgment; I greatly prefer the former.

I had intended to say something about the objects of our crossing the Atlantic, but my paper is full, and I must subscribe, thy friend,

James Mott.

Notwithstanding this, and other manifestations of a disposition to disavow religious fellowship with us, the kindness and courtesy that was abundantly extended to us by some Friends, as well as by many not of that name, will long be remembered with pleasure. From several persons written testimonials of regard were received, from which the following paragraphs are extracted.

"I shall, I believe, look back through life with pleasure, to the hours we have recently passed together. It has never appeared to me, that a difference in religious faith ought to prevent a cordial co-operation in works of benevolence; quite the reverse; I cannot help regretting that some have thought and acted otherwise. But, my dear friend, we must strive to make allowance for natural disposition; the influence of early education, &c., and forgive (as I well know it is thy desire to do) the errors or unkindness into which they may betray; remembering for our consolation, that to our own Master we must all stand or fall. Please accept the assurance of my affectionate remembrance, and most sincere wishes for the best welfare and happiness of you all, and for your continued usefulness in the cause of the slave."

"I am not aware that my intercourse with you has unsettled any previous opinion which I held upon religious matters, but it has surely confirmed my views respecting the unimportance of dogmas, in comparison with the 'weightier matters of

the law.' I look on creeds and professions with increasing indifference, and on real, substantial, faithful action to a good purpose, with additional respect. I am glad that you have met with some in these countries, who agree to differ with you, whilst they rejoice to have met with you, for your own sakes, and the pleasure they have enjoyed in your enlightened society, as well as for what you have done and suffered for the poor colored man and the slave. Let us forget the points on which our respective sects differ, and be thankful that there are so many in which we can most cordially agree."

From a letter received since our return, I make the following extract:

"I like the spirit and honesty of J. Miller M'Kim's Address or letter to the Presbytery very much, although unable to judge whether the conclusions which he has come to, are right or wrong in themselves. It appears to me that the conclusion any honest minded person comes to, on any question in debate, (particularly on theological matters, where the premises cannot be known,) depends fully as much upon the particular constitution of mind of the inquirer, as upon the absolute truth or falsehood of the question at issue. Some men are naturally prone to the Unitarian, and others to Trinitarian views of religion, although both may be equally clear-headed, and equally determined to stand by his convictions of the truth. The long-headed, reasoning man, will tend to Unitarian views—the warm, enthusiastic, poetic-minded man to Trinitarian, which appeals to the feelings and the heart, rather than to the reason or the judgment.

As to the two parties of professing Friends with you, I think neither exactly represents the early Society. You are declaredly Unitarian; the others, and the Friends here, determinedly orthodox. The Friends of George Fox's time were neither. They were a mixture from all sects; and provided the external peculiarities, the testimonies against war, an hireling ministry, and oaths, were kept to, and the great distinguishing tenet of an inward light was maintained, they said nothing as to shades of opinion on other points, which I believe were not nearly so much discussed at that time, as they are at the present day.

Let me allude to a part of your letter, where you speak of the 'creeds and dogmas' of Friends in these countries. True, they have them abundantly; but are not your creeds and dogmas equally entitled to the name? Is there less of a traditional holding of points of belief amongst your Friends, than amongst the orthodox in America? Less of a bowing to church influence in matters of opinion or practice? I would suppose they are both pretty much the same; that the substantial difference between the two sects, was on some tenets or points which neither party could be sure of, and which, of course, they might dispute about until doomsday without coming to a decision. Both sides (I have heard) are, as a body, opposed to the abolitionists; both are imbued with the prejudice against color; both are hostile to their members' joining in philanthropic efforts, with people of other societies. Now, I think both are narrow, and exclusive, and mistaken in all these things, and come short when judged by the true standard, their fruits; and this being the case, I make little account of the difference of their views on speculative questions. If I know myself, I have not the shadow of a preference for the orthodox, over the heterodox party, as such."

In company with our kind friend, John Murray, we went to Paisley, and visited several of the large shawl manufacturing establishments, which is the principal business of the place. Thence to Bowling, on the Clyde, the residence of our valued friend, with whom we passed a pleasant day; the liberal and kind feeling manifested by this individual was grateful to us, and will be long remembered.

From Glasgow we went to New Lanark, the manufacturing establishment founded by Robert Owen, and now principally owned by a few Friends, residing in London. Things appeared to be in good order and well conducted.

When the coach came to the door, in which we

had taken seats for Edinburgh, a crowd of men, women, and children collected around it. On inquiring the cause, we were told that three men, convicted of stealing sheep, were to go in the same conveyance, to be shipped to Botany Bay, under sentence of transportation for seven years, and their friends and families had come to take leave of them. The wailings of their wives, and the cries of their children were heart-rending.

Our valued friends, George Combe and wife, gave us an invitation to spend some days at their residence, Gorgie Cottage, near Edinburgh, saying that we should find theirs "to be a temperance house when by themselves." We passed two days with them, taking tea one evening at the house of their brother, Dr. Andrew Combe, who is well known in Europe and this country, as the author of several valuable works on Physiology, &c. The time spent in the interesting society of these highly intellectual individuals, was a season of great gratification and enjoyment, and we recur to it, as among the most pleasing incidents of our visit.*

* George Combe has recently published "Notes on the United States," during his visit to this country, which contains much that is instructive and interesting. His observations generally appear to be correct and just; but in his notice of the Society of Friends, and its division into two parties, he has fallen into an error as to the relative number of the now two societies, as well as in saying "that a large section of the Quakers of Pennsylvania *became* Unitarians under the influence of Elias Hicks." When the fact is, that we preferred the old standard of simple obedience to the light of Christ within, as the ground of salvation, to the creed of Orthodoxy, which

At Edinburgh we took coach for New Castle, stopping at Melrose, to view the ruins of Melrose and Dryburgh Abbeys, and to visit Abbotsford, familiarly known as the residence of the late Walter Scott. In this ride we met with a slaveholder, from the State of Georgia, who at first seemed indisposed to converse on the subject of their oppressive system; saying that the pleasure of a recent day's ride in Ireland had been spoiled by two young Irishmen pressing that topic upon him. He attempted, however, to compare the condition of the laborers of that country with that of our slaves, as favorable to the latter. But finding that we also were from the United States, and had some knowledge of the "peculiar institution," and of the unparalleled wrongs and sufferings to which one-sixth portion of our fellow citizens are subjected, he ceased to urge that point, and afterwards talked more freely respecting our slavery, as well as on other subjects. In visiting the above mentioned places, he attached himself to our party, leaving a young man from Baltimore, who was with him, to take care of himself.

The ridge of land that divides Scotland and England, is a Heath or Moor, about ten miles in width. Very few houses are to be seen, but many herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, each attended by a shepherd, wrapped in his plaid, accompanied by his faithful

was attempted to be fastened on us by some individuals in this country, aided by English Friends who visited America at that time. This effort to bind the conscience was successful in Great Britain; not so with us, and hence the separation.

dog, are scattered over the hills, which are entirely divested of trees.

New Castle upon Tyne, famous for its extensive traffic in coal, contains about sixty thousand inhabitants. The town has been much improved within a few years, by the erection of a large number of handsome buildings, but the marks of the principal business of the place, are every where to be seen. The market occupies a square of ground; the fronts on each street are stores, with openings to the interior of the square, which is conveniently arranged. We walked through it on the evening of Seventh-day, when meats and vegetables, as well as many other articles were exposed for sale, and a throng of customers making their purchases, as busily as with us on a market morning. This custom of holding market on the last evening of the week, we observed to be general in the towns we visited. We rode to Tynemouth, a village on the German Ocean, to visit Harriet Martineau, who was an invalid, and staying there for the benefit of sea air. Several hours soon passed away in agreeable conversation, and we were pleased to have this opportunity of renewing an acquaintance formed while she was in this country.

After we arrived in Liverpool, my wife received a note from her, from which the following is an extract:

"I felt hardly as if I knew what I was about that morning, but I was very happy, and I find that I remember every look and word. I did not make all the use I might of the opportunity; but when are we ever wise enough to do it? I do not think we shall ever meet again in this world, and I believe that

was in your mind when you said farewell. I feel that I have derived somewhat, from my intercourse with you that will never die, and I am thankful that we have been permitted to meet. You will tell the Furnesses where and how you found me. Tell them of my cheerful room, and fine view of down and sea. I wish my friends would suffer for me no more than I do for myself. I hope you have yet many years of activity and enjoyment before you. My heart will ever be in your cause, and my love with yourself."

While we were in London attending the Convention, a letter was received from her, in which she says:

"I cannot be satisfied without sending you a line of love and sympathy. I think much of you, amidst your present trials, and much indeed have I thought of you and your cause since we parted. May God strengthen and comfort you.

"It is a comfort to me, that two of my best friends, Mrs. Reid and Julia Smith, are there to look upon you with eyes of love. I hear of you from them, for, busy as they are, they remember me from day to day, and make me a partaker of your proceedings. If you and Mr. Mott should be coming this way, how joyful it would make me to see you. I am too unwell to offer more than a few hours a day of intercourse with any one; but love from my heart I do offer you.

"At some leisure hour, if you cannot come, will you write me a few words about the Furnesses; I rarely hear of them. If you can tell me of their health and welfare, and above all of their having been roused to action in your great cause, it will be welcome news. I long to see pure and devout hearts like theirs, engaged for the slave. Dear friend, it is doubtless a disappointment to us both that we have not met; but if we cannot do so, we can, I hope, bear it cheerfully. Though ill, I suffer little. I should suffer greatly if I thought my friends were uneasy for me. Yet I cannot but grieve for you, in the heart sickness which you must have experienced this last week. We must trust that the spirit of Christ will in time enlarge the hearts of those who claim his name, that the whites as well as the blacks will in time be free."

The Scots are an energetic people, and were never conquered by the English in the wars that deluged both countries for so many years with blood. The treaty of settlement placed the king of Scotland on the throne of England, from which cause the hostile feeling was allayed, and they have become much more as one people than the English and Irish. The laws that govern Scotland are enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, but I was told no law had ever been passed, against the wishes of a majority of the members of Parliament from Scotland, or any law refused to be passed that was desired by a like majority; so that in fact they make their own laws. Not so with poor Ireland; she was conquered and subdued, and the Parliament impose on her such laws and restrictions as is apprehended will promote English interest, or gratify English avarice. Foreign flour, and some other articles that are allowed to be imported into England and Scotland on the payment of duty, are prohibited from being imported into Ireland on any terms.

The appearance of the low land of Scotland is similar to Pennsylvania, in the size of the fields, their division in many places by stone walls for fences, instead of hedges as in England, or ditches as in Ireland. They have a breed of black cattle, and sheep with black faces, which are said to be much better adapted to their climate and mountains than the larger animals of England. They are an industrious people, and plenty seemed to abound. The cottages are generally whitewashed, and, compared with the

cabins of Ireland, are clean and comfortable; much less appearance of poverty, and but few beggars. The women and girls of the same class, as in England or Ireland, are commonly seen barefooted, and often carrying heavy burdens, while the men, apparently their husbands and brothers, walk by their sides, with shoes on, and nothing to carry but themselves, which, in very many instances, was as much as they could do, for the numerous licensed dramshops in the towns and country show the great demand for strong and intoxicating drinks. Far worse, in this respect than in "Father Mathew's" land, or "O'Connell's Isle." O'Connell gives his influence to the Temperance cause, and aids in its promotion by attending the meetings, and raising his voice in its favor. He almost totally abstains himself, and would, it is said, sign the pledge, were it not that it might subject the cause to the charge of being made a political scheme.

Women work in the fields abundantly, and in some respects appear to do more than their share of labor. Custom, and stern necessity, doubtless, induces this; still, unlike our slaves, it is in one sense voluntary. The light of knowledge is not by penalty denied them, but is rather liberally proffered; they have free locomotion, and have no master, nor fetters, and work more for themselves, than do our poor captives; neither are they followed by a cruel driver with his blood-stained lash. And though they receive little for the sustenance of the outer man, yet it is much more than it costs the Georgia planter to feed and

clothe his human cattle. It is not, after examination into the condition of the laboring population in Great Britain, that I hate oppression and its direful effects less, but that I hate *slavery*, and love *liberty* more. I desire that our more than ever beloved country, may speedily do justice, by giving deliverance to her bondmen; and that by cultivating the principles of justice and mercy, and training her children in these virtues—appealing to "that little corner of the human heart which has not yet fallen," she may prevent, by wise legislation, the evils, religious, social, and political, under which older countries are groaning.

From New Castle we went to Sheffield, where cutlery of all kinds is the staple manufacture and business. Thence to Leeds, which is the principal place for cloth and other articles, manufactured of wool. The cloth hall is a building extending round a hollow square, about three hundred feet long, by one hundred and fifty feet wide. Each manufacturer has his stand, and exposes his cloths for sale two days in a week, but only one hour of each market day, at the expiration of which time a bell is rung, and no one can buy or sell a piece of goods afterwards, without violating the rules of the association, for which they are subjected to a fine. When I visited the hall, the market hour had just expired; it had been a dull day, and many hundred pieces remained unsold. Several persons whom I met there, on learning I was from the United States, inquired with apparent interest and anxiety, as to the probability of a revival of

a demand for goods with us, and what effect the repeal of their corn laws would have on the trade with this country. The high duties imposed in England upon foreign grain, for the purpose of enabling the agriculturist to pay heavy rents and taxes, to support the nobility in luxury and extravagance, is much complained of by the laborers and operatives, who begin to see that the high prices they are obliged to pay for the necessaries of life is unjust and oppressive; and very many of the middle class in society are coming to understand, that these duties are the result of selfishness, and do not, in the end, promote the comfort or interest of the people at large.

The high cultivation of the soil in England, fully equalled my expectation; and the neatness and regularity with which the work is performed, adds much to the beauty of the country. The ground, in being prepared for sowing grain, is ploughed in ridges, of about ten feet wide, elevated in the centre from nine to twelve inches, sloping each way in a circular form.

Vegetation generally was fresh and vigorous, but it appeared to me that it was of a paler green than it is in America; the difference, if there be any, I suppose may be occasioned by our clearer atmosphere, and brighter shining of the sun.

Their rail roads are made much better than they are in this country, having double tracks. The sides of the cuts, and the slopes of the embankments, are of a regular and even form, and covered with grass. The bridges across the streams of water or turnpikes

or other roads are built of brick and arched. All the turnpike roads go under or over the rail road, and the common, or by-roads crossing the rail roads, have gates at each side, which are kept shut, and a man stationed to attend upon them when any vehicle is about to pass. On the rail road from London to Birmingham, a distance of one hundred and ten miles, there are six tunnels, some of them of considerable length; this road cost nearly fifty thousand pounds sterling per mile.

The turnpike roads are hard and smooth, and always kept in order by immediately repairing any place that is worn or worked; they are frequently scraped with a wooden scraper after a rain, which takes off the dirt that would become dust when dry. Women and children are employed in collecting the manure that falls on the roads. The stage coaches are constructed so as to carry four passengers inside, and twelve outside, and most of the baggage on the top; thus loaded they travel on some of the roads at the rate of ten miles an hour, with only two horses, with more ease than they would on our roads with four horses.

No carriage of any kind is allowed to be kept for hire, without the owner first obtaining a license, and the payment of a monthly tax, which is in proportion to the distance the carriage goes, and the number of horses attached to it at one time. Stage coaches must keep on the road for which they are licensed, and run between fixed places. Omnibuses in the cities cannot deviate from the streets for which the

license is granted, or go beyond defined points; if they do, an additional tax is imposed for every deviation. Cabs, in London, pay five pounds for a license, and a monthly tax of two pounds ten shillings, which gives them the privilege of going to any place within seven miles from the Post Office ; if they go beyond that distance, a special license must be obtained.

This is one of the many means to which the English government resorts, to raise a revenue of about fifty millions sterling annually, equal to two hundred and forty millions of dollars. But worse than all, is the forced maintenance of an ecclesiastical establishment. The inhabitants of the United Kingdom are constrained to contribute for the support of a system of religion, which a large portion of them do not unite with or approve. This is especially the case with the Irish people, seven out of eight of whom are professors of the Catholic religion, and yet are obliged by law to pay tithes for the support of a creed that they believe to be erroneous, and which, from the distraints made upon them, and the suffering thereby brought on their families, they have abundant reason to know and to feel is not for the purpose of sustaining and inculcating the pure precepts and doctrines of Christianity, but for the promulgation of speculative opinions, and the maintenance of a proud and tyrannical priesthood. A system of religion established by law, and the involuntary support of a ministry, is cause of great uneasiness and dissatisfaction ; the advantages and disadvantages

are much discussed, and the result will doubtless be a removal of this unjust and oppressive burden.

The dwellings and barns of the agriculturists in England, are generally much smaller than they are in the older parts of the United States, and do not possess an equal appearance of comfort and good living. It is common to see the house and barn under the same roof; the family occupying one end of the building, and their horses and cattle the other. The hay and grain is mostly put up in stacks, which are formed with great care, and with a neatness and symmetry that I had not before seen.

A large portion of the farms are rented. The ownership of the soil being in the nobility and gentry of the country, who hold it by hereditary title of entailment, without the legal power to dispose of it in fee, they are dependent upon the rents of the land for their income, which their expenditures on themselves, and for their own gratification, in most cases absorb. Hence they have not the means to improve their estates in a way to add to the comfort of the farmer. On the other hand, the high rent the farmer has to pay, and taxes of various kinds, and tithes, require great industry and the strictest economy, to enable him to meet these demands ; so that he has nothing left to make improvements. The rents vary from thirty shillings to three pounds per acre, per annum, and small tracts of a few acres for vegetable gardens, in the neighborhood of the large cities and towns, command a rent of from five to ten pounds.

The Chartists, to whom I have incidentally alluded,

are a numerous body, composed mostly of the operatives and laboring class. They are coming to understand, that they have long been deprived of the enjoyment of their inalienable rights as men, and have been compelled, as they still are, to toil more for the benefit of others than for themselves. They have, until of latter time, depended on some of the great men who have professed to be their champions, for the redress of their wrongs. But finding little or nothing has been done for their relief, they are forming associations for the purpose of concentrating their force, and thus increasing their influence, which is beginning to be felt. They demand a reform in the following particulars, which are called the "*five points of Chartism.*" Universal suffrage; vote by ballot; annual parliaments; payment of members; no property qualification. It will be seen that if those rights are granted, hereditary nobility, and the unholy connexion of Church and State will be demolished, and thus the principal causes of the oppression under which the people are now suffering removed. The nobles, bishops, and priests will struggle hard to retain their position, but it appears to me the word has gone forth, and a change will be effected.

We reached Liverpool on the 24th of Eighth month, and sailed from thence on the morning of the 26th, in the packet ship Patrick Henry, Captain J. C. Delano. We had twelve cabin, and one hundred and forty steerage passengers, many of the latter, respectable, intelligent persons, coming to the United States to settle. The weather was generally pleasant,

with a smooth sea, and not much sea-sickness. Meetings were held on the deck of the ship on First-days. Our captain was a remarkably active man, attentive to his duties, and to the comfort of his passengers and crew. He had a large and well selected library on board, which he was fond of using himself, and which contributed much to the gratification of his passengers, who had free access to his books. When within about one hundred miles of the American coast, many birds were seen flying about the ship, probably blown off by a strong wind; some alighted, several of which were caught.

After a passage of twenty-nine days we arrived at New York, glad once more to reach our native land, and far better satisfied with its customs, condition, institutions, and laws, (slavery excepted,) than with those of the mother country. Our blue sky, bright shining sun, and clear atmosphere, are in striking contrast with the clouds, mists, and frequent rains of the British Isles, and we felt no desire to change our residence; yet we were well compensated for the voyage, in the opportunity it afforded to observe the manners and usages of other nations, and, above all, in the restoration of the health of my wife, the hope of which was one object of the journey.

LB D '05

THREE MONTHS

IN

GREAT BRITAIN.

BY

JAMES MOTT.

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